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SHAKESPEARE
FROM
BETTERTON
TO IRVING

THOMAS BETTERTON
From a Mezzotint by Williams after the Painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller

SHAKESPEARE-
FROM BETTERTON TO IRVING

By

GEORGE C. D. ODELL

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

VOLUME I

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TO

BRANDER MATTHEWS

WITH THE FRIENDSHIP OF
THESE MANY YEARS

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INTRODUCTION

THE aim of these volumes is to give the history of Shakespeare on the London stage for approximately two centuries and a half. Beginning with the opening of the theatres, shortly after the Restoration, in 1660, the chronicle traverses the intervening ages down to and including the times of Henry Irving and Beerbohm Tree. It is hoped that no important production of those many years has been overlooked, and that no change in method of presentation has failed of report in the narrative. The account will show the vicissitudes of the plays themselves, and, so far as possible, the manner of putting them on the stage.

As to the first of these objects proposed, a reader unacquainted with the stage history of Shakespeare will be surprised to learn that never in all the years involved was any play of the poet presented before an audience exactly as he wrote it. At best, the works were enacted very greatly curtailed, with characters and episodes eliminated, and with scenes transposed at the will of the producer; but at worst, and for considerably over a century, dramatists simply re-wrote Shakespeare, changing his plots, introducing new characters, and, as they fondly thought, "polishing" his verses. The list of these depredators extends from Sir William Davenant and John Dryden, in the decade 1660–70, to the anonymous adapter of parts of Henry VI, acted by Edmund Kean in 1817. Only from the time of Macready, especially in his period of management

(1837–43), has the tendency to restore Shakespeare been noticeably progressive. But "restoring" Shakespeare, or, as the playbills put it, "acting from the original text," meant acting merely as much or as little of a given play as the manager desired. The ideals of Charles Kean, of Henry Irving, of Augustin Daly and of Beerbohm Tree were identical in this. No one of them ever dreamed of presenting a Shakespearian play entire. That practice originated in our own very recent times. The vicissitudes of the plays on the stage, then, constitute a large part of the record.

But since these works were performed in theatres, it has been necessary to deal also with the playhouses and with methods of staging, from Betterton to Irving. Changes both before and behind the curtain are noted,—anything, in fact, that had to do with setting the plays before an audience. The history of the theatres, therefore, is included; but stage presentation—scenery, machinery, costumes, pageantry, spectacle, music, song, dancing—receives by far the major share of attention. The glory of actors in and for itself needs no elaborate disquisition here; rather, actors usually figure in the story only as they illustrate tendencies in representing the plays before an audience. In other words, the comparative excellence of Garrick and Barry as Romeo, or of Booth and Irving as Hamlet, does not seem so important, for the present purpose, as the fact that Garrick re-wrote Romeo and Juliet and restored it to the stage, or as the fact that Irving mounted Hamlet in a decidedly interesting and novel manner. The way in which Shakespeare was put on the stage for two hundred and fifty years is, then, another main staple of discourse in the following pages. The progress in scenic arrangement from Davenant to Irving forms a vital chain in dramatic his-

tory, and that fact justifies the extended treatment I have given it.

In presenting this material, I have dispensed with the more formidable machinery of scholarship—footnotes, appendices, tabulations, etc.—and have incorporated, instead, in the body of the text, all references to authorities on which my statements are based. I have desired to interest the lover of the theatre and the lover of Shakespeare, as well as the scholar who may be working in specialised technical study of the drama, early or late. With this double object and in the hope inspired thereby, the following history has been written.

It will be observed that I have relied to an unusual degree on pictures. The illustrations used in the work form in themselves a remarkably graphic history of staging for two centuries and a half. Many of the originals from which I have selected will impress by their novelty; so far as I know they have never before been reproduced. For permission to use some of these rare items I am deeply indebted to the Harvard Theatre Collection and others; but by far the greater number I have taken from my own collection, the accumulating of which has been the solace and delight of most of the years of my life. These pictures will, I am sure, materially assist in reconstructing the stage of a past so glorious and so alluring to the imagination.

For valued advice in the preparation of this work I am greatly obliged to my colleagues at Columbia University, Professors Brander Matthews, William Witherle Lawrence and Ashley H. Thorndike; likewise to the library staffs at Yale, Columbia and Harvard—including the Harvard Theatre Collection—for the eagerness with which they have opened to me the treasures in their possession. Mr.

Walter G. Forsyth, Custodian of the Barton-Ticknor Department of the Boston Public Library, was of unfailing assistance throughout the years during which I was gathering material in the field of Shakespearian adaptations. To all who have so cheerfully helped me, I wish to express a very profound sense of gratitude.

July 5, 1920. GEORGE C. D. ODELL.

BOOK I

THE AGE OF BETTERTON

(1660–1710)

CHAPTER I

THE THEATRES

THE INTERREGNUM, 1642–1660

THE glories of the stage of Shakespeare, diminishing in the last years of Charles I, were at last extinguished by Parliament in 1642. The times that saw the downfall and execution of the Stuart king and the ensuing domination of Cromwell afforded no place for theatrical performances. The ordinance of 1642 was renewed in July, 1647, January 1st, following, being set as the date of its expiration. With the new year, consequently, the theatres, as we shall see, again hopefully opened; but they were finally closed by an ordinance of February 11, 1648, authorising the Lord Mayor, Justices of the Peace, and Sheriffs "to pull down all stage-galleries, seats, and boxes, and publicly to flog all actors and compel them to enter into recognisances never to act or play any plays or interludes any more on pain of being dealt with as incorrigible rogues." Thereafter, till 1660, he must have snatched a fearful joy who dared to set forth or to attend a stage-exhibition.

According to Wright (Historia Histrionica, 1699) there were six theatres in operation at the outbreak of the Rebellion,—the Blackfriars, the Globe, the Cockpit or Phœnix in Drury Lane, the theatre in Salisbury Court, the Fortune, and the Red Bull. "The two last were mostly frequented by Citizens, and the meaner sort of People. All these Companies got Money, and Liv'd in Reputation, especially those of the *Black-friers*, who were Men of grave and sober Behaviour." Three—the last-named, the Cockpit, and Salisbury-Court—were "private" houses, charging higher entrance fees, supplying more comforts in the auditorium (especially benches in the pit), and more elegance on the stage. "They were," says Wright, "very small to what we see now"

(in 1699), and were "Built almost exactly alike, for Form and Bigness. Here they had Pits for the Gentry, and Acted by Candle-light." But, in contrast, note the conditions of the more popular stage: "The *Globe*, *Fortune* and *Bull* were large Houses, and lay partly open to the Weather [i. e., they were not wholly roofed in], and there they alwaies Acted by Daylight." The last days of these theatres are recorded in Mr. Joseph Quincy Adams's Shakespearian Playhouses.

Of the actors who were scattered at the outbreak of the Rebellion, some of the older entered into various business occupations and led a generally precarious existence; the younger, almost without exception, enlisted in the service of the king, and fought on the stricken field. Prominent among these were Charles Hart and Michael Mohun, who acquired commissions, and won considerable distinction as soldiers; they became famous as the chief actors in the King's Company, after the Restoration in 1660.

The players as a whole, however, did not tamely submit to the edict against their performing. Wright informs us that they "gather'd to London" and "made up one Company out of all the Scatter'd Members of Several; and in the Winter before the King's Murder, 1648, they ventured to Act some Plays with as much caution and privacy as cou'd be, at the *Cockpit*." After three or four days, "a Party of Foot Souldiers . . . surpriz'd 'em about the midle of the Play, and carried 'em away in their habits" . . . to prison, where after some time "they Plunder'd them of their Cloths and let 'em loose again." But Wright adds that they acted "in Oliver's time, privately, three or four Miles or more out of town," in noblemen's houses, especially at Holland House, "where the Nobility and Gentry who met (but in no great Numbers) used to make a Sum for them, each giving a broad Peice or the like." Furthermore, at "Christmass," and Bartholomew Fair, they used to bribe the officer at Whitehall, and were "thereupon connived at to Act for a few days at the *Red Bull*," sometimes, alas! "Disturbed by Souldiers."

The performances at the Cockpit chronicled by Wright

are conjectured to have fallen during the time of the suspension of the ordinance, between January 1st and February 11, 1648; in fact Evelyn records in his Diary that he saw a tragi-comedy at this house on February 5th. To the same precious moment belongs the rare news item in the contemporary Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer that, on January 27th, no less than 120 coaches set down spectators at one theatre alone—the Fortune. But February 11th came on apace and once more quenched the players' hopes.

Yet were the actors hard to suppress. Wright's further history of more or less surreptitious performances at the Red Bull during the time of Oliver has been supported by the research of Mr. C. H. Firth. In Notes and Queries (August 18, 1888), Mr. Firth quotes an item from the Perfect Account, under date of December 30, 1654, showing that "the Players at the Red Bull being gotten into all their borrowed gallantry and ready to act, were by some of the souldiery deprived of all their bravery, but the souldiery carried themselves very civilly toward the audience." On September 11, 1655, the actors were at it again. Under that date, the Weekly Intelligencer of September 11–18th records: "This Day proved Tragical to the Players at the Red Bull . . . the Soldiers secured the persons of some of them . . . . they seized also upon their Cloaths . . . . . a great part whereof was very rich." And the spectators! No longer were the soldiers so civil. "Those who had monies paid their five shillings apeece, those who had none . . . did leave their Cloaks behind them, the Tragedy of the Actors and the Spectators was the Comedy of the Soldiers. There was abundance of the female sex who not able to pay 5*s*. did leave some gage or other behind them." And in far-off Newcastle on "Tine," the Publick Intelligencer of January 14–21, 1655–56, informs us through Mr. Firth that "a cluster of lewd fellowes, adventuring to act a Comedy within the precincts and bounds of this Town," were "whipt . . . . on the publick Market-place where a great confluence of people thronged to see them act the last part of their play." O actors! O Puritans! The glory of the Eliza-

bethan drama withered into "drolls" or mere extravagancy of the highway or the barn; Kirkman's collection of 1672 is possibly a reasonably accurate history of the stage under Cromwell.

These were indeed dark days for the actors and for the drama. But Sir William Davenant, in 1656, by some exercise of influence, and especially by change of name from *play*, to *entertainment* and *opera*, managed for a short time to regularise, more or less, performances on the public stage. In May of that year he gave, in a small theatre he had fitted up in the rear of Rutland House, in Aldersgate Street, "the *Entertainment* by Music and Declamations, after the Manner of the Ancients." This dull affair, merely debates and music, was followed by The Siege of Rhodes and other operas—the last of them at the Cockpit—that will invite later discourse. For the legal aspects of the situation, with the warrants under which Davenant was enabled to proceed with such entertainment in those puritan times, I refer the reader to Mr. W. J. Lawrence's Origin of the English Picture Stage, in the second series of his Elizabethan Playhouse, and Other Studies.

THE EARLY RESTORATION THEATRES

At the Restoration, the theatres opened rapidly, at first, apparently, without much legal authority. Here, in part, at least, Downes becomes our best guide. This garrulous but entertaining historian, having served as prompter for the Duke's Company (Davenant's), from its inception to the end of the century, amused his later years by chronicling, not always accurately, the affairs of the theatre from 1660 to 1706; the result is the uniquely entertaining Roscius Anglicanus, beloved of all amateurs of the stage.

The preliminary skirmishes of John Rhodes at the Cockpit, of Killigrew at the Red Bull, and of the rather mystifying Beeston, traced by R. W. Lowe in his life of Betterton, need not detain us here. Unlimited multiplication of companies was stopped in August, 1660, by the issue of a grant

to Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Davenant, "to erect two companies of players, consistinge respectively of such persons as they shall chuse and appoint, and to purchase, builde, and erect, or hire at their charge, as they shall think fitt, two houses or theatres . . . . . for the representation of tragydies, comedyes, playes, operas, and all other entertainments of that nature, in convenient places." From this grant came the patents under which the two managers and their heirs and assignees operated for over one hundred and eighty years in London. Davenant's patent was dated January 15, 1663, Killigrew's, April 25, 1662. From the day these writings were issued, till 1843, no minor theatre in London—except the Haymarket at certain periods during the summer months—could legally perform Shakespeare or any other "legitimate" dramatist.

Davenant's actors—known as the Duke of York's Company—began to play at the old theatre in Salisbury Court, on November 15, 1660; they opened the new theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields in June, 1661 (not 1662, as Downes reports). Killigrew, after operating for a while at the Red Bull, removed on November 8, 1660, to the theatre built on Gibbons' Tennis Court in Vere Street, Clare Market. His company—called the King's Company—again shifted, in 1663, to a new theatre in Brydges Street, Drury Lane, where, as Wright says, "they first made use of scenes." According to the Dramatic Censor for 1811, Killigrew leased for 41 years a piece of ground 112 feet in length from east to west, and 59 feet in breadth from north to south, and expended £1500 in erecting the theatre; the ground rent was £50.

For upwards of ten years after the Restoration, the Duke's House in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and the King's House in Brydges Street, Drury Lane, were the sole theatres in London, and alone demand our attention in the history of Shakespeare on the stage. The "Nurseries" hardly count, except as training-schools for actors.

Thanks to foreign visitors to London during these years, we are enabled to obtain some idea of the appearance of

these two theatres. The reader curious in such matters may peep into the travels of Samuel de Sorbière (1663), and of M. de Monconys, for the same year, but the account of Conte Lorenzo Magalotti, who in 1669 accompanied Cosmo the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany, through England, comes nearest to bringing the interior of the King's Theatre in Drury Lane bodily before us. "This theatre," he records, "is nearly of a circular form, surrounded, in the inside, by boxes separated from each other, and divided into several rows of seats, for the greater accommodation of the ladies and gentlemen, who, in conformity with the freedom of the country, sit together indiscriminately; a large space being left on the ground floor for the rest of the audience."

The circular form here recorded by Magalotti is borne out by de Monconys, in the frequently discussed: "tous les bancs du parterre, où toutes les personnes de condition se mettent aussi, sont rangez en amphitheatre, les uns plus hauts que les autres." It was necessitated by the shape of the Restoration stage, which curved far into the auditorium. Round it were placed the benches of the pit. Magalotti's aristocratic eyes condescended to drop from the royal box, in which he sat, to the pit, where, as Sorbière tells us, "the best places are" and "where men and women promiscuously sit," but he never raised them to the top gallery, where the "gods" most do congregate. From Pepys we learn that the balconies in the early days were three—the first a tier of boxes, the second divided between boxes and benches, and the last, the shilling gallery aforesaid. Pepys notes the price of entry to all parts of the building, and tells us further that the pit on great occasions was frequented by notable "wits" and noblemen. On one occasion his bourgeois heart thrilled at the sight of a gathering in that location of celebrities no less remarkable than the Duke of Buckingham, "who today openly sat in the pit," Lord Buckhurst, Sedley, and Etherege. In view of the praise of all the distinguished foreign critics aforesaid, it is amusing to find the "matchless Orinda" (Mrs. Katharine Philips) writing from Dublin under date of October 19, 1662:

EXTERIOR OF THE DUKE'S THEATRE, DORSET GARDEN

From an old print

"We have a new Play-house here, which in my Opinion is much finer than D'Avenant's; but the Scenes are not yet made."

DORSET GARDEN AND BRYDGES STREET, DRURY LANE

The first two patent theatres, performances in which one may so often attend with Mr. Pepys, were superseded in the first years of the following decade (1670–80) by two beautiful structures on which the historical imagination loves to dwell. Davenant, whose dissatisfaction with the limitations of the stage in Lincoln's Inn Fields would seem to be indicated by the prologue to the second part of The Siege of Rhodes, planned and partly carried out arrangements for building a new house in Dorset Garden, Salisbury Court. His death in 1668 intervened, but his purpose was accomplished three years later by his widow, his son, and the actors Betterton and Harris. Downes tells us the theatre opened on the 9th of November, 1671. Its site I shall follow Wright, Downes, Cibber and other early authors in writing Dorset Garden; there has recently grown up a habit of using the plural—Dorset Gardens.

There is but little necessity for speculating as to the general appearance of this building, inside and out. The first edition of Elkanah Settle's Empress of Morocco, 1673, is "adorned with sculptures" of Dorset Garden Theatre, presenting the front façade of the exterior, and the proscenium arch of the auditorium. I here reproduce a print of the rear part of the building, abutting toward the river, a highway by which some spectators came in boats. The theatre is supposed to have been designed by Sir Christopher Wren, and the interior carvings were by Grinling Gibbons. The architecture and decorations were highly ornate, and, judging from the prints, I should say not wholly pleasing. This elaborate building cost £5000—a very large sum in those days—and the expense of rearing it was undertaken by a group of "gentlemen-adventurers," who probably realised but little on their investment. The house in Dorset Garden became pre-eminently the home of opera and spectacle.

The other new theatre of the decade was the second Drury Lane Theatre—though not yet so called—also designed by Sir Christopher Wren. The first Theatre Royal in Drury Lane was utterly destroyed by fire on January 25, 1671–72. The actors moved at once to the old house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, which had but recently been vacated by Davenant's company, on its removal to the magnificent theatre in Dorset Garden. The new theatre in Drury Lane was opened by the King's Company in March, 1674. According to evidence in the Dramatic Censor, it cost near £4000. The prologue, written by Dryden, on the occasion of the opening, sneers at the efforts of the other company to draw crowds by spectacle, and promises to give audiences real plays, less sumptuously adorned; it also goes to show that the house was notably plain.

> A Plain built House after so long a stay,
> Will send you half unsatisfy'd away;
> When, fall'n from your expected Pomp, you find
> A bare convenience only is design'd.
> You who each Day can Theatres behold,
> Like *Nero*'s Palace, shining all with Gold,
> Our mean ungilded Stage will scorn, we fear,
> And for the homely Room, disdain the Chear.

A plain built house, a bare convenience, a homely room: these terms do not indicate a splendid theatre, like Dorset Garden; "the theatres . . shining all with gold" I take to refer to the stage set with scenes; the line in contrast, "Our mean ungilded stage," would seem to substantiate the belief.

Thanks to the research of Mr. Hamilton Bell (Architectural Record, April, 1913) there seems to be considerable ground for supposing that we have a plan of this second Theatre Royal in Brydges Street. In the library of All Souls College, Oxford, he discovered a number of designs for theatres by Wren, one of which so closely harmonises in measurement with the dimensions of Killigrew's first theatre in Brydges Street (112 feet in length) that we might not err greatly in supposing this to be Wren's design for the second

theatre on the same site. The design, to quote Mr. Bell, "scales 112 to 113 feet in length outside; the stage, with its tiring-rooms occupies 64 feet with a 3 feet space for the orchestra in front again; leaving 56 feet for the salle and 8 feet for the lobbies, staircases, etc. The stage projects into the pit 17 feet in the form of an apron. . . . . The fronts of the galleries are curved in plan, and the top gallery runs up through the cornice, to afford sight lines from the rear seats. . . There are ten rows of seats in the pit, and four in each of the galleries." The 17 feet of the "apron" extending beyond the proscenium are, we observe, to be subtracted from the 64 feet of the stage, and with the 3 feet for the orchestra, to be included in the 56 feet of the salle.

The reader will note the "flats" standing in grooves, waiting to be drawn on; also the tiring-rooms in stories at the back of the stage, with windows looking out on the stage and into the outer world. He will also notice the provision for two proscenium doors on each side of the apron. This would seem to settle or at least "to re-open," as Mr. Bell points out, a long-debated question as to the number of proscenium-doors in the Restoration houses,—a question I shall discuss in the chapter on staging.

The bit of evidence on which Mr. Bell particularly relies to connect this plan with the second Drury Lane Theatre—though the presence of more than two pilasters (see Colley Cibber, below) is rather against the assumption—is the fact that in the drawing there is no indication of a proscenium or curtain line; a hiatus curiously duplicated in the print of a scene from the opera Ariane, which opened the theatre in 1674. In that drawing it will be seen that the strip of cornice which connects the pilasters "has no visible thickness," as Mr. Bell remarks, "and might easily represent a canvas valence, such as is not unusual even in theatres of the present day, to mask the top of the scenes." All this makes a coincidence, as Mr. Bell modestly puts it, and warrants the hope that we have in the Wren drawing, if not the exact likeness, at least something like the interior of the "plain-built house" of Dryden's preface.

The stage of the Theatre Royal, Cibber says, was curtailed in 1693 by Christopher Rich, who desired to provide more audience-room. We infer the newer form from Cibber's loving memory of the earlier. He tells us that "the Area or Platform of the old Stage projected about four Foot forwarder, in a Semi-oval Figure, parallel to the Benches of the Pit; and that the former lower Doors of Entrance for the Actors were brought down between the two foremost (and then only) Pilasters; in the Place of which Doors now the two Stage-Boxes are fixt. That where the Doors of Entrance now are, there formerly stood two additional Side Wings, in front to a full Set of Scenes, which had then almost a double Effect in their Loftiness and Magnificence." I need hardly say that controversy has raged round Cibber's expression "the lower Doors of Entrance," "lower" so obviously correlating "upper." Here, however, it will suffice to call attention once more to the two doors indicated in the Wren plan.

THE UNION OF THE COMPANIES, 1682

The new quarters in which respectively the patent companies found themselves failed, apparently, to sustain them independently above a decade; for some reason, theatrical enterprises ran low, and both bodies of actors were put to expedients to draw a reluctant public. Evidently the spectacles at Dorset Garden failed to achieve this purpose; the older actors in Drury Lane also lost their powers of attraction. At last, in 1682, the companies were united and their activities transferred to the smaller house in Drury Lane. The theatre in Dorset Garden was used irregularly to house some grand spectacular display; after 1685, it was known as the Queen's Theatre. By the end of the century it had faded from the theatrical horizon and was hardly heard of more. Some few performances were given there in 1706. It was finally torn down in 1709, and a timber yard placed on its site. Historians tell us that Hart and Mohun left the stage about the time of the union in 1682; Harris, of the Duke's Company, also, is heard of

SECTIONAL PLAN OF A DRAWING FOR A THEATRE BY SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN

In the Library of All Souls' College, Oxford. By kind permission of the Warden and Fellows and by courtesy of the Architectural Record

no more thereafter. These three, except for Betterton, were the greatest actors of serious parts in their time. Their retirement left Betterton the acknowledged leading tragedian on the Seventeenth-Century stage.

SECESSION OF THE ACTORS, 1695

The single company lasted for thirteen years. In 1695, after a run of bad business, the patentee, Christopher Rich —base successor of Davenant and Killigrew—undertook to reduce the salaries of the leading actors; whereupon the latter, after suitable warning, secured the aid of powerful men like Sir Robert Howard, and were at last enabled to win a new patent from King William III. Many noblemen and gentlemen subscribed twenty or forty guineas apiece, as Gildon informs us, and at last the seceding actors opened a new theatre on the site of a tennis court in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Compared with the two play-houses we have just considered, this was probably a very modest affair. It was situated in Portugal Street, and engravings of its exterior—as rebuilt some years later—are far from prepossessing. This house was opened on April 30, 1695, with Love for Love—Congreve's famous comedy, then first produced—its very extraordinary cast including Betterton, Sandford, Cave Underhill, Mrs. Barry, and Mrs. Bracegirdle. The epilogue, spoken by the last-named actress, contains one of the few references I know to the conditions of the house. The first lines will show how near the site was to that of the former play house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, if indeed it was not the same:

> Sure Providence at first design'd this Place
> To be the Player's Refuge in Distress;
> For still, in every storm, they all run hither,
> As to a shed, that shields them from the Weather.
> . . . . . .
> And this our Audience, which did once resort
> To shining Theatres, to see our Sport,
> Now find us toss'd into a Tennis-Court.

Obviously, then, this was not a "shining" theatre. Such as it was, this company of very great players continued to occupy it for a decade; at length, however, their popularity began to decline. "To this Decline of the Old Company," says Cibber, "many Accidents might contribute; as the too distant Situation of their Theatre, or their want of a better, for it was not then in the condition it now is, but small, and poorly fitted up within the Walls of a Tennis *Quaree* Court, which is of the lesser sort. . .

VANBRUGH'S THEATRE IN THE HAYMARKET, 1705

"To recover them, therefore, to their due estimation, a new Project was form'd of building them a stately Theatre in the *Hay-Market*, by Sir *John Vanbrugh*, for which he raised a Subscription of thirty Persons of Quality, at one hundred Pounds each, in Consideration whereof every Subscriber, for his own Life, was to be admitted to whatever Entertainments should be publickly perform'd there, without farther Payment for his Entrance. . . . ."

This house in the Haymarket was from the first a great failure. "For what," cries Cibber, "could their vast Columns, their gilded Cornices, their immoderate high Roofs avail, when scarce one Word in ten could be distinctly heard in it? . . . . What they [the actors] said, sounded like the Gabbling of so many People in the lofty Isles of a Cathedral." Besides, the situation was at great distance from the theatrical centre, and "far out of the Reach of an easy Walk, and Coach-hire is often too hard a Tax upon the Pit and Gallery." The first of these disadvantages was overcome by architectural changes, lowering the roof, etc.; the second, by the gradual expansion of the city westward.

The magnificent edifice, doomed from the first, like its equally extravagant and unsatisfactory prototype in Dorset Garden, dragged on for five years as a drama house, but by 1710 was destined to become the permanent abode of opera in London.

THE LAST FIVE YEARS OF BETTERTON, 1705–1710

Those five years were, in fact, among the most distressing in English theatrical annals. The record, chiefly from Cibber, I will submit as briefly as possible. Vanbrugh, soon tired of his costly toy in the Haymarket, sought to unload it by a union of the two acting companies; Rich, snugly ensconced at Drury Lane, declined, on the score of his obligation to share-holders at that theatre and at Dorset Garden. Obviously government backing came to Vanbrugh's assistance, since "union" of the two companies was the cry everywhere and was evidently encouraged in high places; just as obviously, Rich held out for selfish purposes, though his case, if not so fair as painted by Percy Fitzgerald in the New History of the English Stage, is possibly not so black as represented by Cibber and other historians. If the negotiations are obscure, the fact is certain: Vanbrugh in 1706–7 unloaded the theatre in the Haymarket on Owen Swiney or MacSwiney, the good-natured right-hand man of Rich at Drury Lane, and that, too, by Rich's connivance, Rich thinking that he could have more advantage under such loose, illegal partnership than by articles tightly drawn up by law. A quarrel with Swiney soon deprived him of this hope. Meantime, on October 6, 1707, Sir Thomas Skipwith, a large share-holder in Drury Lane, in mere jest turned over as a gift to his friend Brett his whole interest in the unprofitable venture. Brett, who was to become a thorn in the flesh of the crafty Rich, brought about the union of the two companies in January, 1707–8, by which all the actors were ordered to return to Drury Lane, and the Haymarket was commanded to give operas only, under Swiney. The changes that followed are rapid and confusing.

Rich—Brett retiring because of a legal action by Skipwith, who repented of his liberal gift of shares—again oppressed the united actors at Drury Lane, and was in 1709, on petition of the players, silenced by an order from the court, the actors again moving to the Haymarket under

Swiney. In time, William Collier, member of Parliament and influential in government circles, secured a licence to give performances in Drury Lane, and at last, in 1709, forcibly dispossessed Rich, who never again directed a company, though he always retained the patent of the union in 1682. With Collier, as Dr. Dorothy Brewster has shown in her study of Aaron Hill, was associated Hill, as manager, from November 23, 1709 to June, 1710. Collier became a tyrant as bad as Rich, though the oppressed was a single person—Owen Swiney. In 1710, envious of Swiney's success in directing opera at the Haymarket, Collier forced him to transfer his interests to Drury Lane and surrender the opera-house to him, once more with Hill as his chief aid in the management. Failing to make this profitable, Collier drove Swiney back to the Opera, where losses eventually caused his ruin in 1712. Wearied of his theatrical management, Collier finally sub-let his privileges to the chief actors, Wilks, Dogget and Cibber, who, in the season of 1711–12, started on that glorious career of management so lovingly detailed by the last-named of the three.

Drury Lane was the scene of the triumphs of the drama in the reign of Cibber and his colleagues; the theatre in the Haymarket was used in the future solely for operatic performances, chiefly in Italian, and as the King's Theatre in the Haymarket it lasted throughout the Eighteenth Century. Twice it was destroyed by fire, once in 1789, again in 1867; both times it was rebuilt. During the mid-Nineteenth Century it was known as Her Majesty's, as such being the scene of the operatic triumphs of many very great singers. The late Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree's theatre stands on the same site.

TIME OF THE PERFORMANCES

The time of commencing the performances suffered a considerable change from the beginning to the end of our period, and more than anything else shows the transition of London city and social life from a rural to an urban condition. Both Sir Francis Drake and The Cruelty of the

Spaniards in Peru, printed at the time of their production by Davenant in 1659 and 1658, respectively, bear on their title-pages the words, "Represented at the Cockpit in Drury Lane at Three afternoon punctually." From the prologue to Dryden's Wild Gallant (1663) it would seem that the time of opening was "half an Hour after Three after Noon." The concluding line of the epilogue to Granville's She-Gallants (1696) puts the beginning a half-hour later. Angelica orders the inhabitant of the pit to "fail not at Four, to meet me here To-morrow." By the new century the hour had crept forward considerably. In the Daily Courant, the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane on the 26th of June, 1703, advertises "the new Comedy, Vice Reclaim'd, or the Passionate Mistress. With Entertainments of Singing and Dancing, to begin at half an hour after Five." But this was apparently too late for good Londoners, and it is interesting to find the following notice in the Courant for October 6th of the same year: "Her Majesty's Servants of the Theatre Royal being return'd from the Bath, do intend, on *Wednesday*, the Sixth of this instant *October*, to act a Comedy call'd *Love makes a Man*, or, *The Fops Fortune*. And whereas the Audiences have been incommoded by the Plays usually beginning too late, the Company of the said Theatre do therefore give notice, that they will constantly begin at Five a Clock without fail, and continue the same Hour all the Winter."

This notice was reprinted for several days thereafter. On October 25th, the theatre in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields followed by announcing "the Woman Captain, with Several Entertainments. Beginning positively at Five." Yet on the 6th of March, 1704, Drury Lane again puts forward the hour in advertising the performance of the Albion Queens—"beginning exactly at half an hour after Five." The opening of Drury Lane for the season of 1708–9 advertised for the 26th of August, was announced to begin "between 5 and 6 a Clock, and no Persons to be admitted behind the Scenes"; but the opening was postponed (so far as I can see) for two days, and there was a compromise as to time: "to begin

half an hour after 5 a Clock." By this year, the more fashionable opera at the Haymarket was commencing at "6 a Clock," as advertisements show. Indeed, there may have been uncertainty at Drury Lane; for the epilogue to Farquhar's Recruiting Officer (1706) expressly bids "all Ladies and Gentlemen that are willing to see the Comedy" to "repair to-morrow Night, by six a Clock, to the Sign of the *Theatre Royal* in *Drury-lane*." This controverts the notices in the Courant.

The time of ending the performances at the close of the century is also easily conjectured. In an anonymous comedy, Feign'd Friendship, or the Mad Reformer, brought out at Lincoln's Inn Fields, in (according to Genest) 1698 or 1699, Townley, in the first scene, says he retired soberly the night before at nine. "Yesterday, at the New-house, I talkt to a Vizard. . . . When the Play was done, I handed her to a Coach. . . This pert little Baggage ran so in my head, that I could not sleep." Things were so centralised in 1698 that Townley would not have far to go from the theatre to his home; I leave the reader to guess how long a time elapsed between his seeing the vizard to a coach, and his "retiring soberly at nine." That it was a short period, I gather from a remark in Charles Gildon's Comparison of the Two Stages (1702). In that progressive series of endless talks, the three friends separate, to meet soon again. They decide to see The Funeral of Steele, and to continue their converse at the end of the play. "'Twill be over at Nine," says Ramble, "and that's good time." Is there an inference, from the last comment, that other plays may have lasted longer?

ENTRANCE FEES

The prices of admission to the houses in Pepys's day are stated by him beyond a peradventure—4 shillings to the boxes, 2s. 6d. to the pit, 18d. to the first gallery, 1s. to the second gallery. The prices were doubled for the first performance of a new play; on the 16th of December, 1661,

Pepys went to the "Opera" to see The Cutter of Coleman Street, "and it being the first time, the pay was doubled, and so to save money, my wife and I went into the gallery, and there sat and saw very well." There was surprisingly little change in the ordinary price of admission, to the end of the period; and though by 1700 prices were still raised for first nights and benefits, they were no longer doubled. Thus at the Theatre Royal on March 6, 1704, when Albion Queens was presented—"never acted before"—"by reason of the extraordinary Charge in the Decoration of it," —as we learn from the Daily Courant—"the Prices will be rais'd, Boxes 5s. Pit 3s. first Gallery 2s. upper Gallery 1s." These charges continued during several repetitions of the play, until, finally, on the 21st of March it was announced "at Common Prices." The same prices, 5s., 3s., 2s., 1s., are announced for Wilks's benefit at the Queen's Theatre, Haymarket, on January 10, 1708, when Betterton played Macbeth. The value of a shilling, in those days, would seem great to a modern buyer; prices of admission, therefore, were high.

THE PIT RAILED INTO THE BOXES, ETC.

On occasions of this sort began the practice of railing all or part of the pit into the boxes, a process easy enough, since the rear boxes were almost on a level with the last rows of the pit. For Estcourt's benefit at Drury Lane on the 12th of February, 1708, the announcement in the Courant a few days in advance bore the words, "3 Benches of the Pit being Rail'd into the Boxes, for the Conveniency of the Persons of Quality who have taken Tickets." But alas for human hopes! evidently not so many as were desired of the quality responded, and on the day of the benefit one bench of the pit was restored to its former occupants. The advertisement is too characteristic to be suppressed: "And at the request of many of the Nobility (who have taken Tickets) 2 Benches of the Pit will be Rail'd in, for more Conveniency. And to prevent any Disappointment, by

coming late, 'tis desir'd that their Servants may be sent by 2 a Clock with the Tickets to keep Places."

A similar drop and disappointment may be noted in three successive advertisements of about the same date for the reigning operatic success, Camilla, at the Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket. On Saturday, the 7th of February, this musical feast was to be offered "with the famous Signior Gioseppe Cassani, lately arriv'd from Italy. . . The Boxes to be open'd to the Pit, and no Person to be admitted but by Tickets, which will be deliver'd out on Friday and Saturday Morning [the 7th fell on Saturday] at White's Chocolate House, at a Guinea each Ticket [a pretty stiff price that!]. The Number of Tickets not to exceed 450." Evidently the sale of tickets was not up to expectation, for on the 6th we read in the Courant: "at half a Guinea a ticket. The number of Tickets not to exceed 400. Stage Boxes half a Guinea. First Gallery 5s. Upper Gallery 2s. And by Order, no Person to stand upon the Stage." The prices went up again for a repetition on the 10th, and I give the advertisement in full for its light on contemporary customs: "The Boxes to be open'd to the Pit. And no Person to be admitted but by Tickets, which will be deliver'd out by the Box-Keepers at 7s. 6d. each Ticket. The Number of Tickets not to exceed 400. Note, that a Box-Keeper will attend every Morning till 1 in the Afternoon, at the Office in the Great Piazza going into the Play-House, to deliver out Tickets. Stage Boxes half a Guinea, First Gallery 3s. Upper Gallery 1s. 6d. No Person to stand upon the Stage."

This and the preceding notices show in full force, in the late Betterton days, nearly all the customs that were to prevail throughout a great part of the Eighteenth Century. I wonder how patiently the playgoers of 1708 endured such palpable speculating on their willingness to pay high prices? If they were like their descendants in 1763, a riot might have ensued. Finally, I wonder if these were war prices; it was the heyday of the Marlborough wars, remember.

SUMMARY

To sum up, then, this was the progress of theatres and companies during the age of Betterton: The King's Company, under Killigrew, occupied for a brief time the Theatre in Vere Street, Clare Market, but in May 1663, opened the new theatre in Brydges Street. The Duke's Company played in Lincoln's Inn Fields from June, 1661, to November 9, 1671, when the house in Dorset Garden was inaugurated. The newest theatre in Drury Lane was dedicated in 1674. The two companies combined in 1682, and appeared regularly at Drury Lane, Dorset Garden being used occasionally for spectacle, until the close of the century. The best actors seceded from this arrangement, and in 1695 opened another and rather poor house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, moving thence in 1705 to Sir John Vanbrugh's magnificent theatre in the Haymarket. Within a very few years this was converted into an opera-house exclusively, and all the actors joined again in one company at Drury Lane.

CHAPTER II

ACTING VERSIONS OF THE PLAYS

THE FIRST DECADE: INTRODUCTORY

Pepys records in his Diary, from 1660 to 1669, attendance at about three hundred and fifty theatrical performances; he mentions also a very few others, from which, usually, he reluctantly absented himself. Of all these, toward the end of the decade, more and more were productions of contemporary poets; but, throughout, seventy-two were devoted to twenty-eight plays included in the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1679, one being Father's Own Son, identified by Carew Hazlitt as Monsieur Thomas, and a second being The Two Noble Kinsmen, transmuted into The Rivals of Davenant; eighteen were given to four comedies and one tragedy by Ben Jonson; eleven to two plays of Massinger (seven times the jocund Pepys saw his favourite Bondman with Betterton); and nineteen to eight dramas of Shirley. As against this record, the diarist witnessed forty-one renditions of twelve of Shakespeare's works, unless we count The Law against Lovers as two, and assign some credit for two performances of The Rivals. The King's Company he saw in The Moore of Venice (twice), The Merry Wives of Windsor (three times), Henry IV (four, in part at least), A Midsummer Night's Dream (once), and (twice) what he calls The Taming of *a* Shrew (probably Sauny the Scot, usually attributed to John Lacy, the actor-playwright). At the Duke's house he attended performances of Hamlet (five times), Twelfth Night (three times), Henry VIII (twice), Macbeth (nine times), Measure for Measure and Much Ado about Nothing, combined by Davenant in The Law against Lovers, and here counted as one play (once), Romeo and Juliet (once) and The Tempest (eight times). Not a great showing for Shakespeare!

Downes records performances of Pepys's list, but adds that the King's Company at the outset appeared in Julius Cæsar and Titus Andronicus, and the Duke's Company even in its days at the Cockpit enacted Pericles; also he includes in their stock-plays from 1662 to 1665, King Lear, "as Mr. *Shakespear* Wrote it; before it was alter'd by Mr. *Tate*." These Pepys does not mention.

Downes notes, moreover, several pieces by Ben Jonson which Pepys either missed or neglected to chronicle. His statement that the King's Company, in its early days, produced The Devil is an Ass, Every Man in his Humour, Every Man out of his Humour, and Sejanus, when set beside Pepys's attendance at The Alchemist, The Fox, The Silent Woman, Bartholomew Fair, and Catiline's Conspiracy will show that Jonson suffered no neglect at the opening of the theatres. It warrants, too, a belief that he fared better, proportionately to the number of his works, than did his greater contemporary. In sixty-eight performances by the King's Company cited in the records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, for the years 1660–62, Jonson and Shakespeare break even with three performances each, while Beaumont and Fletcher piled up twenty-seven to their credit! Despite the fluctuation in Jonson records, however, I suspect that he and Fletcher fitted more nicely into the minds and habits of the Restoration than did Shakespeare, except for a few of the tragedies. At any rate, Shakespeare was far from dominating the period.

The patentees of the two theatres made some approved division between their companies of the plays of the giant race before the flood. Davenant—to do him justice—seems to have selected a larger number of the plays of Shakespeare; Killigrew ranged himself on the side of Jonson and Fletcher, from whose works he helped himself with a very liberal hand. He contented himself with Shakespeare's Othello, Julius Cæsar, Henry IV, and one or two comedies—The Merry Wives, A Midsummer Night's Dream, etc. No possible clue can be found to the principle of selection, but we

know that on December 12, 1660, a curious regulation—to quote from Lowe's Betterton—was made, by which certain plays were set aside as the special property of Davenant's company. These, according to the Lord Chamberlain's records, Davenant proposed "to reform and make fitt for the Company of Actors appointed under his direction and command." They were the following plays of Shakespeare: The Tempest, Measure for Measure, Much Ado about Nothing, Romeo and Juliet, Twelfth Night, Henry VIII, King Lear, Macbeth, Hamlet. . . . In addition to these, Davenant had, for two months from the date of permission, sole right to Shakespeare's Pericles, as well as to five plays of Fletcher.

THE FIRST TEN YEARS: DAVENANT

It was in these first years of the Restoration theatre that the habit began of altering Shakespeare's plays according to the whim of the adapter or the fashion of the passing hour. Just what underlies the special permission given to "reform and make fitt," it would be hard to determine, but there is not the slightest doubt that the person to whom the privilege was granted was one of the very most culpable of Shakespearian alterers or milliners, and set a despicable fashion to future generations of dramatists and versifiers. The stage perversions of Shakespeare begin at once with his professed adorer—Davenant—and hardly have ceased to our own day. There is much food for reflection here, and one would gladly solve the mystery of that legal authority to "reform and make fitt" the drama of a preceding age. Doubtless, even then, Davenant was thinking of material for his newly invented toy, the opera, with its singing, dancing, "cloaths" and machines. He was in this regard a far greater offender than Killigrew, who kept on the even tenor of his way with Othellos and Julius Cæsars that hardly differ —judging by the acting versions—from Shakespeare's own plays; Davenant, on the other hand, loved Shakespeare so much he could not leave him alone, but must, forsooth, to

the end of his days be striving to improve his style and subject-matter. Artistically, the author of these perversions is indeed a very illegitimate son of the great poet.

The first play of Shakespeare's that Pepys saw enacted by the Duke's Company was Hamlet, "very well with scenes." In this Davenant's sins were wholly of omission. The quartos of 1676 and 1695, of the play, "as it is now Acted at his Highness the Duke of York's Theatre," have an address "To the Reader: This Play being too long to be conveniently Acted, Such Places as might be least prejudicial to the Plot or Sense, are left out upon the Stage: but that we may no way wrong the incomparable Author, we here inserted according to the Original Copy, with this Mark"—the mark being inverted commas.

If my counting was accurate, and I trust it was reasonably so, about 841 lines or parts of lines are thus omitted. All the Voltimand and Cornelius matter is eliminated, as well as all of Fortinbras, until the very end of the play. The actor-scenes are greatly curtailed, as well as the scene of the mock play; Hamlet's advice to the players is not delivered. The Reynaldo-Polonius scene is gone; Hamlet has far less conversation with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, or indeed with himself, his soliloquy "O what a rogue and peasant slave am I," being shorn of twenty-seven lines. The scene in the King's closet is given almost entire, but significantly omits

> Then trip him that his heels may kick at Heaven,
> And that his soul may be as dam'd and black
> As Hell whereto it goes.

These lines, so hard for modern idealisers of Hamlet to digest, were thus completely rejected by Davenant. As in the earlier quartos, the lines now assigned to Osric in the scene with Hamlet, are spoken by a "Courtier"; "Ostrick," as in the quartos, also, appears in the episode of the duel. Worst of all, much of Shakespeare's exquisite verse, especially in the first scene of the play, has been ruthlessly "cut." Altogether, this version is not a bad acting edition

and differs but little from subsequent stage-versions for decades to come; the story is compressed to good dramatic effect. And all the lines are Shakespeare's; of no other published version of Davenant's can we say as much.

DAVENANT'S LAW AGAINST LOVERS

The first of his attempts to "reform and make fitt" the bard for the Duke's Company—so far at least as printed copies can inform us—was The Law against Lovers, which Pepys saw on Feb. 18, 1661–62, "a good play and well performed, especially the little girl's (whom I never saw act before) dancing and singing." This is an attempt to adapt Measure for Measure to contemporary taste. It cannot be said that anything of Shakespeare's poetry or much of his humour has been retained; and Davenant takes extraordinary liberty with the plot. All the comic characters are eliminated, and even Lucio becomes almost a respectable gentleman. The character of Juliet is much enlarged, and she has many rather depressing scenes throughout the course of the play. The Mariana episode is omitted, and Claudio does not beg Isabella to save his life at the price of her honour; but Juliet does, Isabella proposing to her in retaliation that she, Juliet, act some such part with Angelo as is assigned to Mariana in the original. This almost makes Juliet see Angelo's proposal with the eyes of her nun-like sister-in-law. The greatest weakness of the play is in the character of Angelo, who pursues his villainous course only up to the middle of the fourth act, when he confides to Isabella the interesting fact that he really loved her for a long time before she came to plead for Claudio, and that he has merely been trying her; furthermore, he never intended to kill Claudio, anyway, and has sent off a pardon for him. Isabella naturally disbelieves this, and departs, leaving Angelo rather low in spirits. But the tale turns out to be true, though Angelo is severely punished by the Duke and others, before he is allowed to marry Isabella, as Davenant preferred to have him do.

This, however, was not enough for the adapter; in his zeal to enjoy the privilege of making Shakespeare "fitt," he ran into the comedy, as a sub-plot, much of the Benedick-Beatrice material from Much Ado about Nothing. Thus he was able to kill two birds with one stone. To get them reasonably into the other group of characters, Benedick—just returned from the wars—is made a brother to Angelo; Beatrice is Angelo's ward. Juliet becomes her cousin—*vice* Hero, exterminated—and she has also a sister Viola—a very knowing child—who interrupts the action from time to time, to indulge in a song. This must be the part played by the "little girl" who so delighted Pepys. But, having introduced Benedick and Beatrice into his plot, Davenant makes them carry the burden of it with a vengeance. In their earlier scenes he gives them much of Shakespeare's badinage and repartee, transmuted into blank-verse—Davenant's blank verse; but later on, when they become chief conspirators to liberate Claudio and Juliet from jail, they just talk any kind of verse they can. Shakespeare cannot help, since he placed them in no such situation. Beatrice, instead of bidding Benedick kill Hero's Claudio, calls upon him to save Juliet's. They steal Angelo's signet ring, forge pardons, and are foiled by the virtuous Duke-Friar, who has a plan of his own for saving everybody and everything, including Angelo's soul. This he does, and the play ends happily, after insurrections led by Benedick, imprisonment of Angelo and Benedick, etc. Just a little of Shakespearian brightness remains in the early scenes of Benedick and Beatrice, just a little of his glory in the scenes between Isabella and Claudio; the rest is all Davenant, and, as such, is a passable tragi-comedy of its time and place. If one could forget Shakespeare, one might like the play. Obviously, however, the public of that time did not do the latter, at least. I can find no record of The Law against Lovers becoming a stock play, or of its being repeated after the initial performances.

MACBETH

Macbeth was probably the second of Shakespeare's plays to be altered by Davenant, personally. The version used by the Duke's Company was printed in 1674 and again in 1687 and 1710. Davenant's name does not appear on the title-page, but to him Downes, in writing of the company after its removal to Dorset Garden in 1671, expressly attributes it. "The Tragedy of *Macbeth*," he says, "alter'd by Sir *William Davenant*, being drest in all its finery . . . it proves still a lasting Play" (in 1706). This is perhaps the concoction toward which Pepys in seven successive visits became more and more enthusiastic, though no doubt it was not nearly so elaborately mounted. On November 5, 1664, it was merely "a pretty good play, but admirably acted"; was this before Davenant began his tinkering? By December 28, 1666, when he again saw it, the fire and the plague had passed, and Davenant may have occupied his enforced leisure with altering the play. At any rate, Pepys now awoke and took notice; it was to him "a most excellent play for variety." On January 7, 1667, he went again and wrestled with his critical spirit, emerging with the comment: "saw Macbeth, which though I saw it lately, yet appears a most excellent play in all respects, but especially in the divertissement, though it be a deep tragedy; which is a strange perfection in a tragedy, it being most proper here, and suitable." Poor Pepys, swallowing all the rules and liking the lawless thing!

His comments and Downes's would identify this production with the acting version of 1674; besides, Downes explicitly notes that the play—Davenant's, acted at Dorset Garden—had been played at Lincoln's Inn Fields. His statement, however, leaves no doubt that the whole affair was newly "got up" for Dorset Garden. Pepys was treated to no such spectacle in the early days.

In this version of Shakespeare's tragedy Davenant rode two favourite hobbies. The first was his desire for operatic and scenic splendour; this he obtained by great elaboration of the witch scenes, introducing all kinds of dancing, sing-

ing and gibberish, some of it reproduced from The Witch, by Middleton. Probably these scenes were elaborated for the great stage of Dorset Garden; but by that time Sir William was dead. The second hobby was the pursuit of structural balance in the play, exemplified also in The Law against Lovers and The Tempest. This led to a great amplification of the character of Lady Macduff, that thereby numerous scenes between her and her lord might symmetrically oppose similar bits between Macbeth and his wicked wife. In this scheme Lady Macduff becomes a terribly virtuous lady, always inveighing to her husband against ambition; learning of her approaching death, she presents a brave front to the enemy. We meet her first as a guest of Lady Macbeth, with whom she is "seeking a cure for her own solitude," as Lady Macbeth magniloquently informs Macduff, who comes to the castle.

> Her fears
> For you have somewhat indispos'd her, Sir,
> She's now withdrawn, to try if she can sleep:
> When she shall wake, I doubt not but your presence
> Will perfectly restore her health.

Before the entrance of Macduff, his virtuous wife has been very platitudinous about ambition to her hostess, who, in possession of Macbeth's letter, is eager to know its contents. When at last her guest leaves her, Lady Macbeth begins on her precious note, with the remark:

> Now I have leisure, peruse this Letter.

After the murder of Duncan, Lady Macduff flees Macbeth's castle and meets her lord on a lonely heath: the witches appear and prophesy Macbeth's death at the hands of Macduff, as well as Lady Macduff's approaching doom. The scene is worth repeating:

> 1 *Witch.* Saying thy bloud will cause it to be shed.
> 2 *Witch.* He'll bleed by thee, by whom thou first hast bled.
> 3 *Witch.* Thy Wife shall, shunning danger, danger find,
> And fatal be to whom she is most kind.
> (*Ex. Witches*)

La. Macd. Why are you alter'd, Sir? Be not thoughtful,
The Messengers of Darkness never spake
To men but to deceive them.
Macd. Their words seem to foretell some dire predictions.
La. Macd. He that believes such ill news from such as these
Deserves to find it true. Their words are like
Their shape; nothing but fiction.
Let's hasten to our journey!

There is another scene between this strong-minded couple, in which she begs him not to leave his family. She asks if he is resolved to go:

Can you leave me, your Daughter and young Son,
To perish by that Tempest which you shun?
When Birds of stronger Wing are fled away,
The Ravenous Kite does on the weaker Prey.

He answers (being bent on going):

He will not injure you, he cannot be
Possest with such unmanly cruelty.

Yet one more scene between the two finds her urging him not to attack Macbeth; is he sure he is not himself prompted by ambition? The actual killing of Lady Macduff is not shown, though the scene just preceding it in her castle is given. But Lady Macbeth has, shortly after, a new scene in which she is portrayed as constantly haunted by the ghost of Duncan; this induces her to try to persuade Macbeth to give up ambition and the crown. He, seeing no ghost, refuses, and she goes raving off. These extra bits in the play really detract terribly from its nobility; they are extremely theatrical and very badly written. They no doubt acted well, and consequently were retained for many years. Macbeth, as written by Shakespeare, was never seen again till Garrick revived it in 1744; this alteration of Davenant's, unlike his Law against Lovers, was a lasting success. "Being in the nature of an opera," it pleased the town for several generations.

THE TEMPEST, 1670

Davenant's third attempt to "make fitt" a Shakespearian masterpiece was levelled at The Tempest. His alteration of this lovely fantasy was not printed till 1670, but from the second line of the epilogue we know it was acted in 1667. If we needed corroboration, Pepys would supply it. He saw the piece eight times between November 7, 1667, and January 21, 1669. And again his appetite grew with what it fed on, until he "could not be more pleased almost in a comedy." His taste agreed with that of the public, as his unvarying record of full houses shows. Again Davenant was attracted by the opportunities for spectacular display and machines, opportunities of which he doubtless availed himself to the utmost of the narrow room he then possessed. And, secondly, he could be "so symmetrical as never was." He could supply a perfect balance, he imagined; and therefore, to use Dryden's words, "he design'd the Counter-part to Shakespear's Plot, namely, that of a Man who had never seen a Woman; that by this means those two Characters of Innocence and Love might the more illustrate and commend each other. This excellent Contrivance he was pleas'd to communicate to me, and to desire my assistance in it. I confess, that from the very first moment it so pleas'd me, that I never writ anything with more delight. . . . . The Comical parts of the Saylers were also of his invention, and for the most part his writing, as you will easily discover by the Style." This acknowledgment of Dryden will give some idea of his own part in the play, and also of Davenant's notion therein.

I am inclined to believe that this alteration is the worst perversion of Shakespeare in the two-century history of such atrocities. The character of Hippolito, the young Duke of Mantua, whom, at the time of his own flight, Prospero had spirited to the magic island, is almost the silliest in dramatic literature. Perhaps it was of his scenes that Pepys was thinking when he wrote on Nov. 7th, "—the most innocent play that ever I saw." He has been kept a pris-

oner in a cave, in a remote part of the island, warned against the deadly creature, woman; why he has never seen Prospero's two girls—for Dryden and Davenant have generously given Prospero an extra child, Dorinda—it would be hard to say; at the beginning of the action, they live just around the corner, in a cave similar to that to which he has recently been moved from the more remote part of the island. When Ferdinand falls into Prospero's power, he, too, is confined in a cave—not set to log-piling as in Shakespeare. He and Hippolito meet; Hippolito, having seen and admired Dorinda, and learning now that there are many such beautiful women in the world, resolves to have every one of them. Hence, against his will, Ferdinand, to preserve at least Miranda unto himself, is forced to fight a duel with the ambitious youngster. Apparently killing him, he is doomed to death (really) by Prospero. Then when Hippolito, by Ariel's aid, recovers, there is an absurd scene of cross-purposes (jealous, of course) between the four lovers. I doubt if sillier stuff was ever written by two poets, laureate or other. Everything in this play goes in couples; Ariel has a spirit-mate, Milcha, and Caliban a lumpy sister Sycorax, who really has a nasty mind. The comical parts referred to by Dryden include several quarrels on the island between Stephano, Mustacho, and Ventoso, on the one hand, and Trincalo (*sic*), aided by Caliban and Sycorax, on the other, for royal supremacy; Trincalo's butt of wine figures largely in the proceedings. Acted, some of this would be farcically funny; it is, of course, based on Shakespeare's material, but hugely enlarged—as, indeed, is the opening scene on the sinking boat. Shakespeare's Sebastian is omitted, and hence also the conspiracy against the King of Naples; I confess I do not regret this particular loss.

Not much of Shakespeare's language is retained in this capital offence. The opening scene between Miranda and Prospero is largely like the original, and, scattered throughout the work, fragments of the mighty voice come floating

on the wind. But so much of the material as well as of the poetry is new that one hardly connects the thing with Shakespeare at all. Yet it drove Shakespeare's play from the stage till late in the Eighteenth Century, and even after that John Kemble found Hippolito harder to shake off than the old man of the sea. The "original" matter, on which Dryden and Davenant so prided themselves, has been traced by Hermann Grimm—Fünfzehn Essays, 1875—to Calderon, offering a silent rebuke to plagiarists and boasters. And they were not even the first to tamper with Shakespeare's play. So far back as 1622, The Tempest had inspired The Sea Voyage of Fletcher!

SHADWELL'S TEMPEST, 1674

The Tempest was, in 1673, according to Downes, in 1674, according to Mr. W. J. Lawrence, further "operated" by Shadwell, and Downes tells us that "having all New in it; as Scenes, Machines . . . . all was things perform'd in it so Admirably well, that not any succeeding Opera got more Money."

Until very recently, it was supposed that Shadwell had "had the decency"—so it was expressed—never to publish his version. Sir Ernest Clarke, however, in the Athenæum for August 25, 1906, proves conclusively that the second edition of The Tempest, usually assigned to Dryden and Davenant, and recently included in their works (by a strange irony) in preference to their own undoubted version of 1670, is, in reality, the Shadwell opera. In the first place it was printed in 1674, at about the time (1673) given by Downes for its elaborate scenic revival at Dorset Garden. Downes speaks of it as "made into an opera," and all the earmarks of opera—song, dance, spectacle, transformation of scenes—are found in the 1674 version. More conclusive proof is cited by Sir Ernest Clarke. In the Masque at the end of Act II (which in the 1674 and subsequent editions is much more elaborate than in 1670) a song, "Arise, arise, ye sub-

terranean winds," finishes the act. This song does not appear in the 1670 edition, but in Part II of Pietro Reggio's songs (published in 1680) is a setting of "Arise, ye subterranean winds," with the title, "A Song in the Tempest. The words by Mr. Shadwell."

In this operatic Tempest of 1674 the character of Milcha is much amplified. She appears at the very end of the play in 1670, in answer to Ariel's call, in the last scene with Prospero:

Ariel. I have a gentle Spirit for my Love,
Who twice seven years hath waited for my Freedom,
It shall appear and foot it featly with me.
Milcha, my Love, thy *Ariel* calls thee.

[*Enter* Milcha.

Milcha. Here! [*They dance a Saraband.*

In 1674, she enters in Ariel's first scene, and one needs no better illustration of what had been effected in making the play into an opera than a comparison of the two corresponding scenes in the versions of 1670 and 1674, respectively:

Ariel.
Pardon, Master,
I will be correspondent to command, and be
A gentle spirit.
Prospero.
Do so, and after two days I'll discharge thee.
Ariel.
What shall I do? what shall I do?
Prosp:
Be subject to no sight but mine; invisible to
Every eye-ball else; hence with diligence.

Ariel.
Pardon, Master,
I will be correspondent to command, and be
A gentle spirit.
Prospero.
Do so, and after two days, I'l discharge thee.
Ariel.
Thanks, my great Master. But I have yet one request.
Prosp.
What's that, my spirit?
Ariel.
I know that this days busi-

My daughter wakes. Anon thou shalt know more.

[*Exit* Ariel.

ness is important, requiring too much toyl for one alone. I have a gentle spirit for my Love, who twice seven years has waited for my freedom: Let it appear, it will assist me much, and we with mutual joy shall entertain each other. This I beseech you grant me.

Prosp.

You shall have your desire.

Ariel.

Thanks, my noble Master. *Milcha!*

[Milcha *flies down to his assistance.*

Milc.

I am here, my Love.

Ariel.

Thou art free! Welcome my dear!

What shall we do? . . . .

Prosp.

Be subject to no sight but mine, invisible to every Eyeball else. Hence with diligence, anon thou shalt know more.

[*They both fly up and cross in the air.*

Milcha (a part "written in," possibly, for a popular singer and dancer) in 1674 shares with Ariel some of the music he sang alone in the first edition. Ariel sings the stanza, "Come unto these yellow sands," but Milcha answers with "Full fathom five." The song, "Dry those tears which are o'erflowing" (Act III, Scene 3), is turned, in 1674, into a duet for these two gentle, loving spirits.

Finally, while there is, in 1670, no printed indication of scenic splendour (though no doubt, some was attempted),

in 1674 evidences of it abound. All the scene descriptions we have are an adjunct of 1674; the Masque of Furies is much enlarged, and the speaking parts in the concluding Masque of Neptune and Amphitrite are added. The elaborate Masque of Furies in Act II, Scene 3, of 1674, is worked out from Dryden's hint in 1670, occurring in his first scene—the scenes are much transposed in this act in 1674: "In this scene enter 2 that sing, in the shape of Devils, placing themselves at two corners of the stage. Enter Pride, Fraud, Rapine, Murther. After which they fall into a round, encompassing the Duke, &c., singing." The Masque of Neptune and Amphitrite at the end is very elaborate, and quite in the operatic vein of the period to which it belongs—the period of the opening of the Dorset Garden house, and of the succession of operatic wonders soon to be recounted.

If it be asked why Shadwell did not place his name on the title page in 1674, it may be answered that no one in 1670, 1674, or 1676 placed his name in such a position—the piece was printed merely "As it is now acted at the Duke of York's Theatre." The author's name is omitted also in 1690. The retention, in later editions, of Dryden's preface of 1670 has caused most of the confusion of subsequent ages. In view of the evidence there seems no reason for doubting Sir Ernest Clarke's identification of the 1674 Tempest with Shadwell's opera; I am—if I may be pardoned the personal reference—the more inclined to the belief, since I had arrived independently at the same conclusion before I read the article in the Athenæum, or Mr. Lawrence's in The Elizabethan Playhouse.

These great divergences between the earlier and the later Tempest cause one to wonder whether the Macbeth published in 1674 is, after all, identical with that seen by Pepys in the decade 1660–70. The printing of the work, in 1674, just after the production at Dorset Garden leads one to doubt the identity of the two versions; possibly much of the "machinery" for the witches, the singing, dancing, etc., may have been added for the larger stage of the new theatre.

ROMEO AND JULIET AND OTHER PLAYS

To Downes again we are indebted for our sole information regarding another "improvement" in Shakespeare, for which Davenant was this time responsible only as manager. Shortly after the opening of the new theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, Downes informs us that Romeo and Juliet, "wrote by Mr. *Shakespear,*" was produced, but "The tragedy of *Romeo* and *Juliet,* was made some time after into a Tragi-comedy by Mr. *James Howard,* he preserving *Romeo* and *Juliet* alive; so that when the Tragedy was Reviv'd again, 'twas Play'd Alternately, Tragical one Day, and Tragi-comical another; for several Days together." In Shakespeare's play Downes includes in the cast Count *Paris's* Wife, by Mrs. Holden. No one knows what he means by Count Paris's Wife, but I shall ask the reader to remember (until the year 1682) the name of Mrs. Holden.

It was probably the love-drama as "wrote by Mr. *Shakespear*" that Pepys saw on March 1, 1661–62. "To the Opera, and there saw Romeo and Juliet, the first time it was ever acted; but it is a play of itself the worst that ever I heard in my life, and the worst acted that ever I saw these people do, and I am resolved to go no more to see the first time of acting, for they were all of them out more or less."

Pepys records no performance of Pericles or King Lear, both stated by Downes to have been acted by Davenant's company. These and the remaining Shakespearian plays that were seen at the Duke's house by him,—Twelfth Night and Henry VIII,—it is impossible to speak of with accuracy; no printed versions survive. Suspicion is, however, thrown on the last-named play by a casual entry in Pepys's diary, for December 10, 1663: "Calling at Wotton's, my shoemaker's, today, he tells me that . . . . . Harris is come to the Duke's house again; and of a rare play to be acted this week of *Sir William Davenant's* [the italics are mine]. The story of Henry the Eighth with all his wives." Accordingly on January 1st Pepys records: "Went to the Duke's house . . . and here saw the so much cried-up play of Henry the

Eighth; which, though I went with resolution to like it, is so simple a thing made up of a great many patches, that, besides the shows and processions in it, there is nothing in the world good or well done."

Twelfth Night seemed a "burthen" to the diarist on September 11, 1661; but that was possibly because he was troubled about having gone to the theatre at all. On January 6, 1662–63, he saw it "acted well, though it be but a silly play, and not related at all to the name or day." His last recorded attempt produces no better results. On January 20, 1668–69, "to the Duke of York's House, and saw Twelfth Night, as it is now revived; but, I think, one of the weakest plays that I ever saw on the stage." Yet Downes says the comedy "had mighty Success by its well Performance."

KILLIGREW AND SHAKESPEARE

But what of Killigrew's company during this time of Pepys's great delight in the theatre? They produced less of Shakespeare, but they produced him without such wholesale disfigurement. Examine the quartos of Othello (1681, 1687, 1695, 1705), "As it hath been divers times acted at the Globe, and at the Black-Friers: And now at the Theater Royal by his [in 1705 *her*] Majesties Servants," and you can detect no important variations from the original printings; the same holds true of the quartos of Julius Cæsar (the undated one of 168–, and that of 1684) also "as it is now acted at the Theatre Royal." To be sure, both plays were thus printed after the union of the two companies in 1682, except the first Othello (1681); I believe, however, that they represent the acting versions of Hart and Mohun for the years 1660–82. In Julius Cæsar, the only important change assigns to Caska (*sic*) the speeches of Marullus in the first scene; a really ridiculous inconsistency of characterisation, though it persisted far into the Nineteenth Century. The 1719 edition of Julius Cæsar, accredited on its titlepage to Davenant and Dryden, probably is a product of its own time; the two laureates, I am convinced, had nothing

to do with it. The other important play of the King's Company, Henry IV, Part I, was not printed in an acting version. The edition of 1700, "as revived, with alterations," belongs to the time of Betterton's activities at the second theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

LACY'S SAUNY THE SCOT

The only really serious violation of Shakespeare for which the Killigrew management can be indicted was Sauny the Scot, an adaptation of The Taming of the Shrew, generally attributed to John Lacy, the actor, and so attributed on the title-page of the first edition, in 1698; the evidence is largely internal and need not be debated here. The play is in prose, with phrases from Shakespeare glancing shyly out of the enveloping Scotch mist. The scene is in London, and Lord Beaufoy finds in his daughter Margaret a more vulgar scold than Italian Baptista was tormented with in Katharine. Young Winlove (Lucentio), Geraldo (Hortensio) and Woodall (Gremio), as suitors for Biancha (*sic*), meet much the same difficulty and many of the same situations as in Shakespeare. Petruchio and his man Sauny the Scot (Grumio) save the day for these ardent wooers. The Induction and the Sly incidents are omitted. The Petruchio-Margaret (or Peg) episodes are about as in Shakespeare (that is, in plotting, not in language) up to and including the arrival at Petruchio's home. The bits with the ill-roasted meat, the tailor, etc. are retained; there is an extra scene in the bedroom, where, on the plea of damp sheets, Margaret is kept waking. In addition, there is a vulgar scene in which Sauny is told to undress Margaret.

The last act is all new. Margaret, at home, again becomes unruly. Petruchio lets her weary herself by raving, then pretends she has a toothache, and sends for a barber to pull the tooth. This last operator is driven out by Margaret, who now sulks in sullen silence. Petruchio pretends she is dead; sends for bearers to carry her on a bier through

the Strand to Covent Garden Church; even goes to the length of strapping her to the bier. At last her proud spirit breaks and she admits her defeat. The final scene is the episode of the wager about the three wives; Margaret alone obeys her husband's call, and delivers a short speech of advice to the other brides. The play ends with a dance. Much of this new material recurs in the farce-opera, A Cure for a Scold, in 1735.

Meantime, let us again turn to the invaluable Pepys. This captious critic of Shakespearian comedy on April 9, 1667, went "To the King's house, and there saw The Tameing of a Shrew, which hath some very good pieces in it, but generally is but a mean play; and the best part Sawny done by Lacy; and hath not half its life, by reason of the words, I suppose, not being understood, at least by me." Yet again on November 1, of the same year, "My wife and I to the King's Playhouse, and there saw a silly play and an old one, The Taming of a Shrew."

To show how ill the comedies fared with Pepys, it is but necessary to refer to his comments on The Merry Wives of Windsor at the King's house, on December 5, 1660, "the humours of the country gentleman and the French doctor very well done, but the rest but very poorly, and Sir J. Falstaffe as bad as any"; or on September 25, 1661, when again by "the power of the devil over me," he saw The Merry Wives of Windsor ill done. Nevertheless, on August 15, 1667, undeterred, after failure to get places for a new play at the Duke's house, he went to the King's, "and there saw The Merry Wives of Windsor, which did not please me at all, in no part of it." Unquiet conscience in the second case, and disappointment in the third, may have coloured Pepys's vision; but I suspect the complete evidence shows he simply could not like The Merry Wives.

A Midsummer Night's Dream at the same house is dealt a death-blow by the candid diarist on September 29, 1662: "To the king's Theatre, where we saw Midsummer's Night's Dream, which I have never seen before, nor shall ever again, for it is the most insipid ridiculous play that ever I saw in

my life. I saw, I confess, some good dancing, and some handsome women, which was all my pleasure."

Pepys apparently kept his word about never seeing this play again; in fact I doubt if he ever had an opportunity to do so. No other record or mention of the acting of the fairy comedy exists. His mentioning of the dancing causes one to wonder if the King's Company were trying to rival Davenant's spectacular shows; yet we must remember that in 1662, in the theatre in Vere Street, Killigrew was probably not yet using scenery. We have no knowledge of the form in which the King's Company presented this comedy or The Merry Wives.

THE FIRST TEN YEARS: SUMMARY

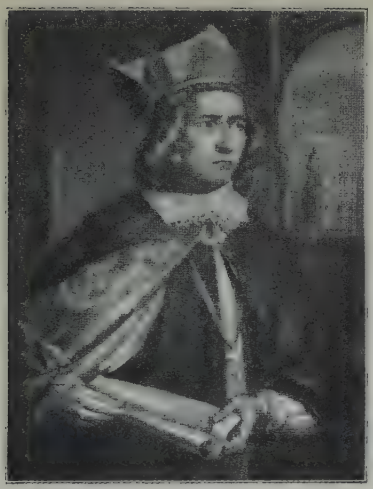
This, then, so far as we are ever likely to know, was the history of Shakespeare on the stage, during the first ten years after the opening of the theatres, in 1660. If other versions were made, they were not printed; if other plays were produced, none of the circumstances have yet been discovered in volumes of forgotten lore. It will be apparent, from an examination of the evidence so far adduced, that Davenant's company was, as I have already stated and shall have occasion hereafter to repeat, the principal offender; Lacy's revision of The Taming of the Shrew being the solitary instance in the other camp. Against this we set the Duke's Company's mutilations of Measure for Measure and Much Ado about Nothing, Macbeth, Romeo and Juliet and The Tempest. Of all these, the tamperings with Macbeth and The Tempest were alone of balefully compelling importance for the future; but the habit of such mutilation was fixed. Perhaps Davenant, as has been suggested, felt this was the only way to save Shakespeare; he was certainly a practical manager, and he professed to love the poet. In justice to Davenant, however, we may assert that his tinkerings (and Lacy's also) were applied largely to the comedies; and what Pepys thought of Shakespeare's comedies when "pure," we have seen to our amusement in his Diary.

THE YEARS 1678–1682

For ten years after the period of Pepys's Diary, there were, except for the operatic Tempest and the Macbeth, "being in the nature of an opera," no new versions of the plays. Those two exceptions I have treated, by anticipation, in the discussion of the plays that Pepys saw. To them Dorset Garden contributed chiefly greater stage facilities. At any rate, these two aside, Shakespeare was left undisturbed, so far as we know, by zealous adapters, for several years after Pepys ceased to record his attendance at the theatre. Contributory causes operated to bring about this blessed result.

The vogue of the Heroic Play was at its height, and the beginnings of the new Franco-Spanish comedy of the days from Etherege to Wycherley had somewhat eclipsed the romantic comedies of the Jacobean and Caroline ages. Dryden, Crowne, Shadwell, the Earl of Orrery, Etherege, Sir Robert Howard, Davenant, etc. were the great names in the theatre; if older plays were retained, they were such as fitted the mood evoked in works by the list of names just cited. Fletcher, Jonson and Shirley were for this age, if not for all time; whereas Shakespeare was rather for all time than for this age. I much doubt whether, from 1669 to 1678, many of his works were enacted except what Downes characterises as stock plays—Macbeth, Hamlet, Othello, Julius Cæsar, Henry IV, Henry VIII and King Lear—"as Mr. *Shakespear* Wrote it; before it was alter'd by Mr. *Tate*." Betterton's Prince of Denmark, Macbeth and Henry VIII, Hart's Othello and Brutus, Mohun's Cassius, and Cartwright's Falstaff sufficed in that day of great actors. Nevertheless, we must not forget the operatic Tempest of 1674. And Downes includes The Merry Wives of Windsor in a list of works the King's Company "Acted but now and then," in contradistinction to "their Principal Old Stock Plays."

The next period of alteration of Shakespeare extended from 1678 to 1682, and concerned itself wholly with the



HARRIS AS CARDINAL WOLSEY
From an engraving by Dawe

MRS. ELIZABETH BARRY
From a painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller

MICHAEL MOHUN
From an engraving by Harding

EDWARD KYNASTON
From an engraving by Harding

tragedies, of classical and historical subject, as well as of more purely romantic matter. In the discussion of these things I decline to include John Caryll's The English Princess, or the Death of Richard III, printed in 1677, though Pepys saw it on March 7, 1666–67, or Sir Charles Sedley's Antony and Cleopatra (1677), or Dryden's All for Love, or the World Well Lost (1678). They are so slightly connected with Shakespeare's plays on similar subjects that they have little resemblance beyond that of the stories involved. No further suggestion of Shakespeare's Richard III can be found in The English Princess, or of his Antony and Cleopatra in Sir Charles Sedley's; even All for Love has but occasional flashes from the great Antony and Cleopatra aforesaid. It reduces the tragedy of the downfall of a world to a neat little parlour-drama in Alexandria.

The five years (1678–82), especially the last three, were years of great political and civil strife, of factional conflict, clearly presaging the Revolution of 1688. Here ensue the Popish Plot, the contest between City and Court, and the Monmouth-Shaftesbury intrigues. Papist and Anglican and Non-Conformist whirled about in the same death-grapple, and fastened to their religious controversies a political conflict almost as vital. The last unhappy years of Charles II are illustrated in the Shakespearian plays then adapted to the exigencies of the hour.

SHADWELL, DRYDEN, RAVENSCROFT

I am willing to admit that there may have been no political significance in the first three alterations I am about to consider—Shadwell's adaptation of Timon of Athens, produced at the Duke's Theatre in 1678, Dryden's Troilus and Cressida, acted at the same house in 1679, and Edward Ravenscroft's Titus Andronicus, at the Theatre Royal in or near 1678. Perhaps these tragedies on Roman and Greek subjects were selected as meeting the popular demand for heroic or sensational plays; no one can deny, however, that they are largely founded on civil wars of an

afflicting nature. Whatever may be said for my theory in regard to these plays, however, there can be no doubt that most, if not all, of the adaptations of the last three years mentioned were put together for no other purpose whatever, than to warn a people burnt up with partisan animosity, of the incalculable evils of civil war.

All doubt is removed by the knowledge that such of these versions as displayed hostile criticism of court and government were promptly suppressed, while those that fawned on Charles and his court were allowed to flourish in peace. The plays involved are Otway's Life and Fall of Caius Marius (1680) at the Duke's Theatre in Dorset Garden; the first and second parts of Henry VI, by Crowne, at the same house, in 1680–81; Tate's King Lear, also at Dorset Garden, and The Sicilian Usurper at the Theatre Royal, both in 1681; his Ingratitude of a Commonwealth in 1682 at the Theatre Royal, and Durfey's Injured Princess or the Fatal Wager, also, according to the title-page—usually our only guide in such cases—of the same year and place of production. Under some of these epitaphs, readers will be surprised to find the remains of such well-known plays as Romeo and Juliet, Richard II, Coriolanus and Cymbeline.

Before taking up these works in detail, it might be well to state that the years 1681–82 were given over in the theatre largely to drama of political import. Three examples will suffice: Lee's Lucius Junius Brutus (Dorset Garden, 1681), Dryden and Lee's Duke of Guise (Theatre Royal, 1682), and, above all, Otway's Venice Preserved (Dorset Garden, 1682). This last-named tragedy, it has been frequently asserted, satirises the foolishness and dissipated life of Shaftesbury in the character of Antonio, and his sinister evil in Renault.

RAVENSCROFT'S TITUS ANDRONICUS

The Titus Andronicus of Ravenscroft was not printed till 1687, yet it is clear, says Genest, that it was acted in 1678. The address to the Reader tells us "it first appear'd

upon the stage, at the beginning of the pretended Popish Plot, when neither Wit nor Honesty had Encouragement: Nor could this expect favour, since it shew'd the Treachery of Villains, and the Mischiefs carry'd on by Perjury and False Evidence; and how Rogues may frame a Plot that shall deceive and destroy both the Honest and the Wise; which were the reasons why I did not forward it at so unlucky a conjuncture, being content rather to lose the Profit, then not expose to the World the Picture of such Knaves and Rascals as then Reign'd in the opinion of the Foolish and Malicious part of the Nation: but it bore up against the Faction, and is confirm'd a Stock-Play."

Since no one, I suppose, regards Shakespeare's Titus with veneration, the changes wrought by Ravenscroft will not excite much ire in any breast. I am not sure that some of his work is bad. A notable bit of new motivation is supplied in the third act. Quintus and Martius are led by Aron (so spelled by Ravenscroft) to the Mouth of the Pit, which is called the Serpent's Den, by a letter Quintus has received telling him of two ladies there; in Shakespeare they are more chastely bidden thither to hunt a panther, whose lair it is. Lavinia's writing the name of her ravisher in the sand is taken from its Shakespearian situation in the garden and made to follow immediately the harrowing scene of the cutting off of Titus's hand, and thus just to precede the bringing in of the heads of Quintus and Martius. The grotesquely morbid family procession with the *disjecta membra* of the Andronici is made a bit less ludicrous; Lavinia does not carry off her father's hand in her mouth—the boy Junius (not Lucius, as in Shakespeare) merely bears it away in his own hand. The fifth act is very much altered. A Goth and his wife have in charge the "blackamore" child of Tamora—the nurse, sickening, having confided it to them. The husband, later, finding his wife murdered, exclaims "I'le after Aron, and be reveng'd." Titus is soothed by Tamora with the vision of Revenge, Rapine and Murder—not in his home, but in the Court, whither he has come to complain of his wrongs. And now

young Junius, at Titus's dictation, lures Chiron and Demetrius—Tamora's precious sons—to their doom, by scattering gold about and saying he found it buried in his grandfather's garden, where there are heaps like it. Of course these wild cubs go to get it, and meet a horrible death. Taunted by Titus before Lavinia in the garden, they are slaughtered in the house. A peace-banquet is graced by the presence of the Emperor and the Empress. Aron, brought in by the avenging Goth, is shown on the rack; the bodies of Tamora's sons are exhibited on the drawing of a curtain. Nearly everybody dies or is slaughtered, including, for extra measure, the "blackamore" child, slain by its mother, the atrocious Tamora. In general, of course, this version uses the material of the original play; but it transposes scenes, changes motives, piles on extra horrors. It is mentioned here merely for completeness of record; nobody cares much one way or the other. I must say that the scenic directions in the first and last acts—directions discussed elsewhere—are to me by far the most interesting part of the publication. I cannot help wondering why the work, original or revised, should have become a stock-play. But Aaron—again so spelled—was a favourite character even with Quin, many years later.

SHADWELL'S TIMON OF ATHENS

Shadwell's Timon of Athens or the Man-Hater (1678) was a very long-lived thing; I am not sure it ever wholly left the stage until Shakespeare's departed. It is notable chiefly for the introduction of two female characters, Shadwell wisely deciding that feminine interest was necessary for popular success. Besides, French tradition required love interest, more or less "heroic." These women are Melissa, whom Timon is going to marry, and Evandra, his mistress, whom he is deserting for his wife to be. Evandra is really Timon's one friend. She is loving and faithful throughout. She begs him not to leave her, and, in the days of his distress, she offers all he has ever given her, to

help him to recuperate financially; he churlishly refuses. She follows him to the wood, and he is forced finally to admit there is one honest person. Nevertheless, he poisons himself; she stabs herself and dies on his body. To make room for this faithful soul, Shadwell is forced to change the character of Shakespeare's honest steward Flavius, who now becomes Demetrius, a self-seeking rascal, trying to get decently away from the house of Timon before it falls; he fears his master may attempt to borrow some of his savings.

Melissa is a genuine Restoration flirt—her opening scene with Chloe, her maid, is pure Charles II. She is "making up" for Timon's visit. It transpires that she loves Alcibiades (in exile at first), and, like Lyndaraxa, in The Conquest of Granada, balances the two men against each other. At the end, hearing of Timon's gold in the wood, she goes to him, but finds him with Evandra. Timon curses her and drives her away. In the final scene of the triumph, Alcibiades also spurns her, and poor Melissa is left to ruminate on the desirability of making up one's mind early as between suitors, and adhering rigidly to one's choice.

The working up of the character of Alcibiades is also very different from that of Shakespeare. Alcibiades, at first in exile, comes back in disguise to see Melissa; he is almost pardoned by the senate, when his impertinence about the pardon of Thrasibulus brings about his banishment (as in Shakespeare). He leads an army against Athens and is finally admitted as conqueror. The Senators go out to Timon for help and receive about the same answer as in Shakespeare; only they are the Senators who earlier declined to lend Timon money.

These are all remarkable changes and greatly alter the character of the play. In other respects, however, Shadwell follows his original closely. In general, the scenes between Timon and Apemantus, and those between Timon and the Painter, the Poet, the Musician, the Jeweller, and the Merchant are as in Shakespeare and largely in his language. A good device—as Pepys might say—is to have the attempts to borrow for Timon not protracted through

several scenes; one servant does the deed, soliciting one senator after another in the Senate-house, with about the same results and about the same words as in Shakespeare. Of course the mistresses of Alcibiades are omitted. Finally, instead of the dance at Timon's feast, as arranged in Shakespeare, Evandra (masked) leads in a regular masque of Cupid, Bacchus, Nymphs, and Followers of Bacchus. This show is no doubt what Downes had in mind when he said "the Musick in 't well Perform'd, it wonderfully pleas'd the Court and City; being an Excellent Moral." The latter reflection is obvious of the play as a whole. The music was by Purcell. I cannot leave this summary without calling attention to the lines recited by the Poet in the first scene—lines devoted to the exploitation of the necessity for giving high-sounding names for bull, lion, etc.

This play was revived constantly and perhaps deserved to be. Thoughts of Shakespeare aside, it is an excellent acting-medium. Perhaps I shall incur ridicule in admitting it, but I believe Shadwell was not far out when he asserted in his Epistle Dedicatory to George, Duke of Buckingham, that the play "has the inimitable Hand of Shakespear in it, which never made more masterly Strokes than in this. Yet I can truly say, I have made it into a Play." The character of Melissa alone makes me doubtful.

DRYDEN'S TROILUS AND CRESSIDA

Dryden's Troilus and Cressida, or Truth Found too Late, was acted at Dorset Garden in 1679. It is notable for great compactness of structure, for the addition of many effective acting scenes, for the heightening of character, and especially for the complete change of characterisation in the case of Cressida. This wily maiden is represented as throughout faithful to Troilus, and forced by Calchas to pretend love for Diomede, in order that Calchas and she may the more readily escape to Troy. Consequently, the love-scenes witnessed by the heart-broken Troilus are no more real than the tale of Sinon. This is, of course, to

pervert the very spirit of Shakespeare's play, and to make it, however good in itself, an utterly alien thing. One is amused in wondering if the ladies of the court of Charles II objected to a heroine so palpably like themselves as Shakespeare's Cressid, and preferred a fictionally virtuous lady-love for the manly Troilus.

After nearly twenty years of such cool and insolent alteration of Shakespeare, Dryden's preface to this play helps to bring before us some idea of what the revisers aimed at in general and of what Dryden desired and accomplished in particular.

He maintains that the "tongue" of the present age "is so much refined" since Shakespeare's time, that much of his language is "scarce intelligible." Of the words and phrases understood, "some are ungrammatical, others coarse"; and his whole style is pestered with figurative expressions—"affected as it is obscure." Therefore Dryden attempts to "correct" this tragedy. He will also remove the confusion of the plot, and "because the play was Shakespeare's," undertake "to remove that Heap of Rubbish [O facile, fatal, familiar phrase!] under which many excellent Thoughts lay wholly bury'd." He also obligingly gives a clear account of the new material he has introduced, and therefore makes it easy for us to sum up exactly what he has done to and for the play:

(1) He has immensely cut down the long counsel speeches of the Greek warriors and made them more intelligible. He has strengthened this part of the plot by intensifying the rivalry of Ajax and Achilles. Ulysses spurs on Thersites to effect such purpose, and succeeds. There is a fairly good quarrel scene between the two mighty men.

(2) He makes more reasonable Hector's sending to the Grecian camp a challenge to single combat. In a new scene, Andromache, who does not appear in Shakespeare, comes to the council of the Trojans, and tells that Astyanax wishes to be knighted [in Troy!], in order that he may go out and fight the bravest Greeks. Hector, shamed, as he says, by his son's spirit, resolves to send the challenge

in his stead. He gives to it the note of chivalry by offering to maintain the superior beauty of his wife against any Grecian's claims for his love's charms.

(3) His most important new scene and that on which, by his preface, he most prided himself, is the lengthy quarrel between Troilus and Hector, when the latter comes to apprise the former of the decision to return his recently acquired Cressida to the Greeks. This episode, so reminiscent of the famous quarrel scene between Brutus and Cassius, is in this place wholly artificial and unconvincing.

(4) A bit almost equally reminiscent of the scene between Calpurnia and Cæsar is that in which Andromache urges Hector to remain that day from the battle, her plea overcome by the counter-argument from Troilus that Achilles will despise Hector for cowardice and accuse him of having prevailed on Polyxena to write the letter urging Achilles not to fight.

(5) A more original episode is that in which Calchas urges Cressida to beguile Diomede in order that they may be permitted to escape to Troy. Hence, on her compliance, Troilus mistakes her action and believes her false. She gives Diomede Troilus's ring [not sleeve as in Shakespeare].

(6) At the end Diomede and Troilus have a long scene somewhat to Dryden's credit as a playwright. Troilus accuses Cressida; she protests her innocence. Diomede lies, saying he has possessed Cressida, and in corroboration showing the ring. Cressida stabs herself. At length Troilus believes, and kills Diomede. He is himself overpowered by the Greeks and falls dead on Diomede's body. Hector is killed "off scene."

The play as a play is better, I believe, than Shakespeare's, which is hardly a play at all. Dryden's, nevertheless, is still hopelessly encumbered by the sub-plot of the Greek councils, even though the theme of Ulysses's attempt to belittle Achilles by exalting Ajax is considerably strengthened. The challenge of Hector is also made more plausible, but it, as well as the Ulysses scheme, seems unimportant, except as it serves to get Troilus into the Grecian camp,

where he may witness the apparent infidelity of Cressida. Thersites, in spite of Dryden's boast, is much less effective than in the original. In both dramatists I feel that the motivation is unconvincing. In some speeches Dryden uses Shakespeare's ideas, and to some extent his words and figures, at times even clarifying the original; but, on the whole, the play, as does All for Love, deserves to rank rather as a new work than as an adaptation. Naturally, Dryden seized upon the scenes between Troilus, Cressida and Pandarus and made them even more lascivious than in Shakespeare; they are incongruously ill-adapted to the later scenes of the faithful, suffering Cressida.

I believe I have said enough of this and its two earlier fellow plays in the extreme political drama of Charles's last troubled years. They lent themselves readily to modern application and were perhaps meant to serve as warning to all factional and partisan souls; whatever the intention of these just mentioned, however, there can be no doubt, as I have said, of the purpose of the adapters of the important group about to be considered—all of them productions of the distressing years 1680, 1681 and 1682.

OTWAY, TATE AND CROWNE

In 1668, Davenant died; by 1681, Dryden had begun that career in satire on which his fame chiefly rests, and wrote thereafter less and less for the theatre. Both had done their worst for Shakespeare; from this time his shade need fear them no more. They were to forbear to digge the bones interred in his works. Enter now the figure of Nahum Tate, perhaps the most universally execrated of the daring souls who violated the precious shrine of the plays.

OTWAY'S CAIUS MARIUS

Meantime, just previous to Tate's emergence, Otway had conceived the really astounding idea of grafting the romantic story of Romeo and Juliet on a situation involv-

ing strife between Marius and Sylla, with a plague o' both their houses. For sheer ingenuity, this device eclipses the glory of any the most venturesome flight conceivable in this domain of adaptation; one can merely admire (in the sense of wonder at) the mental perversity that could plan such a union of seemingly discordant elements. No amount of familiarity with the resulting work can quite dim one's astonishment at it. It is unbelievable that any exigency except that of writing a play with some analogy to contemporary troubles in the state in 1680 could have impelled Otway to this attempt; even then, it is hard to see how he ever came to join these two obviously repellent fables. It was, after all, a stroke of genius that detected the possibility of such union—and its adaptability to contemporary needs.

Romeo and Juliet was, as we have seen, acted at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1662, and, according to Downes, altered some time after into a tragi-comedy by James Howard; but the fate of this, one of the great love-tragedies of the world, was decided for years to come when Caius Marius was acted at Dorset Garden in 1680, and banished Romeo and Juliet from the stage until 1744.

Into a stately, rather dead classical tragedy of the strife of Marius and Sylla, Otway has injected a considerable amount of Shakespeare's play. Young Marius loves Lavinia, the daughter of Metellus, a follower of Sylla; Caius Marius had previously negotiated a union between his son and Lavinia. Of course, it is now "off," and the civil war causes Metellus to resolve to join her to Sylla. Side by side with Otway's political scenes we find the Nurse babbling, as in Shakespeare, about Lavinia's age, going abroad with the Roman substitute for Peter, and playing Lavinia false at the end. Her Elizabethan prattle sounds odd enough in Rome, but not more so than Mercutio's Queen Mab speech as delivered by the jolly tribune, Sulpitius. The balcony scene, the scenes between Lavinia and the Nurse, the bedroom scene (transferred to the garden), the potion scene, the scene with the apothecary, and the tomb

scene are to a great extent in Shakespeare's wording. At the end, Lavinia awakes before the death of Young Marius. Many people regard this dénouement as an improvement on Shakespeare's; it was followed by Theophilus Cibber and Garrick in their versions of Romeo and Juliet in the mid-Eighteenth Century and was carried on well into the Nineteenth. Otway's is an amazing compilation, but even more extraordinary is its continued vogue. Genest records performances as late as 1727, but not one of Romeo and Juliet until September 11, 1744, when Theophilus Cibber produced a version at the Haymarket Theatre.

TATE AND KING LEAR

In 1681 Nahum Tate's King Lear was shown at Dorset Garden. Tate's dedication to his "esteem'd Friend, Thomas Boteler, Esq." says that in Shakespeare's Lear he had found "a Heap of Jewels unstrung and unpolish'd; yet so dazzling in their disorder that I soon perceiv'd I had seiz'd a Treasure." The three most striking alterations were (1) an "Expedient to rectify what was wanting in the Regularity and Probability of the Tale," by making Edgar and Cordelia (who never meet in the original play) lovers from the start; (2) the omission of the Fool; and (3) "making the Tale conclude in a Success to the innocent distrest Persons," in other words, with a "happy" ending—Lear restored to his throne, the wicked sisters dying of poison, and Edgar and Cordelia married. "Yet," says Tate, "was I wrack'd with no small fear for so bold a change, till I found it was well receiv'd by my Audience."

The first change was due to a desire for love-interest of the stilted "heroic" kind then popular on a stage that had but a few years before echoed the love-logic of Almanzor and Almahide. It involved the doing away with Cordelia's suitor, the King of France, and an implication that her cold answer to Lear was due to hatred of Burgundy and love for Edgar; it necessitated keeping her in England and compelling her to wander about on the heath in the fearful

storm, accompanied by an interpolated confidant, Arante, useful for sending on errands. Heaven knows where they slept! Cordelia comes to beg Gloster to help her father in the storm; Edmund's passion is excited by her beauty, and he sends two villains to the heath to capture her and carry her to him. She fortunately and fortuitously stops in front of the cave of Edgar, who drives off the rogues and has an opportunity to behold his long-lost love at every lightning flash. The well-known portrait of Mrs. Cibber as Cordelia gives a picture of this interpolated scene. The omission of the Fool removed from the play one of the most fascinating, unearthly characters in Shakespeare; he was not restored to the English stage till 1838. The third alteration took from the sufferings of Lear all their bleak, elemental tragedy, and reduced the play to melodramatic limits. Finally, the Edmund-Goneril-Regan episode was unpleasantly amplified.

Tate's mangling was castigated for a century and a half, but persisted; Shakespeare's Lear was never once acted in all that time.

In view of this inexhaustible popularity, I think it but fair to give the reader some idea of the "stringing and polishing" of Shakespeare's "jewels." And first as to the "polishing," look on this picture, and on this, the counterfeit presentment of two curses, Lear's outcry against Goneril, at the end of Act I, from the Folio of 1623, and the Tate version (edition of 1712). This will give a just idea of what has been called "Tatefication."

SHAKESPEARE

Heare Nature, heare deere Goddesse, heare:
Suspend thy purpose, if thou did'st intend
To make this Creature fruitfull:
Into her Wombe conuey stirrility,
Drie vp in her the Organs of increase,
And from her derogate body neuer spring

TATE

Hear Nature!
Dear Goddess hear; and if thou dost intend
To make this Creature fruitful, change thy purpose;
Pronounce upon her Womb the Barren Curse,
That from her blasted Body never spring

A Babe to honor her. If she must teeme,
Create her childe of Spleene, that it may liue
And be a thwart disnatur'd torment to her.
Let it stampe wrinkles in her brow of youth,
With cadent Teares fret Channels in her cheekes,

Turne all her Mothers paines, and benefits
To laughter, and contempt: That she may feele,
How sharper then a Serpents tooth it is,
To haue a thanklesse Childe. Away, away.

A Babe to honour her;—But if she must bring forth,
Defeat her joy with some distorted Birth,
Or monstrous Form, the Prodigy o' the Time,
And so perverse of Spirit that it may live
Her Torment as 'twas Born, to fret her Cheeke
With constant Tears, and wrinkle her young Brow.

Turn all her Mother's Pains to Shame and Scorn,
That she may Curse her Crime too late, and feel,
How sharper than a Serpent's tooth it is,
To have a Thankless Child: Away, away.

And as to the "stringing," which I take to be the supplying of connecting links for the story, how like you this opening scene between Edgar and Cordelia?

Edgar. *Cordelia,* Royal Fair, turn yet once more,
And e'er successful *Burgundy* receive
The treasures of thy Beauties from the King,
E'er happy *Burgundy* forever fold Thee,
Cast back one pitying Look on a wretched *Edgar.*

Cord. Alas! What wou'd the wretched *Edgar* with
The more unfortunate *Cordelia?*
Who in obedience to a Fathers will
Flies from her *Edgar's* Arms to *Burgundy's?*

Or this final scene of Lear's restoration to happiness?

Lear. Is't possible?
Let the Spheres stop their Course, the Sun make halt,
The winds be husht, the Seas and Mountains rest;
All Nature pause, and listen to the Change.
Where is my *Kent,* my *Cajus?*
Kent. Here my Liege.

Lear. Why I have news that will recall thy Youth;
Ha! Didst thou hear't, or did th' inspiring Gods
Whisper to me alone? Old *Lear* shall be
A King again.
Kent. The Prince that like a God has Pow'r, has said it.
Lear. *Cordelia* then shall be a Queen, mark that;
Cordelia shall be a Queen; Winds catch the Sound,
And bear it on your rosie Wings to Heav'n.
Cordelia is a Queen.

Late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth-Century critics could not have enough fun with the winds and the sun and spheres, that had nothing else to do but wait for the announcement of Cordelia's ascending the royal throne. So late as 1747, the author of An Examen of the New Comedy call'd the Suspicious Husband, asks Garrick how he "can keep his face" when he comes to these lines of Tate.

TATE'S SICILIAN USURPER

With his next efforts in Shakespearian adaptation Tate met depressingly opposite fortune, the first being suppressed by government authority, the second by popular suffrage. A fable of civil discord involving an old king of ancient Britain might seem to the partisans of Charles II and James, Duke of York, about as remote as the story of Œdipus or of Thyestes' banquet; but the melancholy history of Richard II, with his rebellious subjects, his enforced resignation, and his violent death, would appear shiveringly near to home, with Popish Plots and Whigs and Tories everywhere, and Shaftesbury and his darling Monmouth, like Sheridan, twenty miles away. Hence Tate's version of Richard II, played at the Theatre Royal in 1681, was, as his preface states, "Silenc'd on the Third Day." His Ingratitude of a Commonwealth, based on Coriolanus, produced in the same house in 1682, was evidently a failure with the public, since it is never mentioned by Downes, who became treasurer at the time of the union of the two companies in the same year, and is supposed to enumerate all

the plays performed in Drury Lane for twenty-four years thereafter.

Tate's Richard II was, for reasons of censorship, produced under the title of The Sicilian Usurper. "For the two days in which it was acted," plaintively wails the Preface, "the Change of the Scene, Names of Persons, &c. was a great Disadvantage: many things were by this means render'd obscure and incoherent that in their native Dress had appear'd not only proper but gracefull. I call'd my Persons *Sicilians* but might as well have made 'em Inhabitants of the *Isle of Pines*, or, World in the *Moon*. . . . Yet I took care from the Beginning to adorn my Prince with such heroick Vertues, as afterwards made his distrest Scenes of force to draw Tears from the Spectators; which, how much more touching they would have been, had the Scene been laid at Home, let the Reader judge."

There is a note of disingenuousness about this entire Epistle Dedicatory of Tate, that disagreeably affects me on every reading. Methinks the gentleman doth protest too much. What startled the authorities of the time was his representation of the downfall of an English King; he retorts that, unlike Shakespeare, he made Richard II a good man! "To form any Resemblance between the Times here written of, and the Present, had been unpardonable Presumption in me," says Tate, and then proceeds to do so in a backhand reference to the times of Richard, only too applicable by faction to the times in which he wrote. Tate goes through Shakespeare's play and his own, bit by bit, to show how much more noble and sympathetic he had made the character of the weak, unhappy monarch. "Every Scene is full of Respect to Majesty," he laments, "and the Dignity of Courts, not one alter'd Page but what breaths Loyalty, yet had this Play the hard Fortune to receive its Prohibition from Court."

These excuses of Tate I have quoted or referred to, partly to show the difficulties of a dramatist who wrote counter to the sentiment of the court in 1681, but chiefly because Tate shows therein exactly the changes he has made in the

spirit and content of Shakespeare's poetic play. Regardless of my attitude toward what he did, I can praise him for the lucidity of his statement as to what he had tried to do. He does greatly heighten our respect for Richard by the devices he enumerates, and he has, moreover, made a much longer part of the Queen, who, in several added scenes expressive of her love and anxiety for Richard, increases our sense of the worth and dignity of his character. The scenes of terror and pity between these two are, whatever we may think of their stilted verse, not despicable as acting *media*. Under the tinsel, some real feeling is discernible.

Minor changes occur. The scene of the lists at Coventry is omitted. To Aumerle is assigned York's description of Richard's pitiful entry into London, and there is much extra matter for Aumerle and his mother in Act V, evidently meant to awaken tense anxiety for Aumerle's fate at "Bullingbrook's" hands. The pardon follows about as in the original. Throughout this act the character of the Queen is greatly expanded, to awaken tragic pity. On the other hand—for reasons of state?—the scene of the King's death is much curtailed, shorn of its tragic power. In it, to wring another tear, he receives a letter from "Isabell, my Royal wretched Wife." The Epistle Dedicatory apologises for the Additional Comedy as less agreeable to "Stricktness of Rule." This "comick" material is in an interpolated scene with the "Rabble, a Shoomaker, Farrier, Weaver, Tanner, Mercer, Brewer, Butcher, Barber, and Infinite others with a Confused Noise," who question "Bullingbrook" and finally decide to accept him. Perhaps Tate was even then working over Coriolanus.

A great deal of the language and of the action is Tate's; what of Shakespeare's wording is retained has suffered the usual transmutation, much of its nobility shorn or "polished" away. But, to vary my usual course, let me introduce an entirely new scene of Tate's, meant to exalt the characters of the King and the Queen. It occurs at the end of Act III, Scene 3 (Shakespeare's Scene 2), the scene on

the heath, with Salisbury and Scroop. Enter, at the close, for Tate's new episode, the Queen:

Queen. Welcome my Lord,
This minute is our own, and I'll devote it all
To extasie, the Realm receives her King,
And I my Lover—thou dost turn away!
Nor are they tears of joy which thou dost shed,
I give thee welcome, thou reply'st with sighs!
King. What language shall my bankrupt fortunes find,
To greet such Heavenly excellence as thine?
I promiss'd thee success and bring thee Tears!
O couldst thou but devorce me from thy Heart!
But oh! I know thy virtue will undoe thee,
Thou wilt be still a faithful constant Wife,
Feel all my Wrongs and suffer in my Fall?
There is the sting and venom of my Fate,
When I shall think that I have ruined Thee.
Queen. I ask no more my Lord, at Fortunes hands
Than priviledge to suffer for your sake!
Who wou'd not share your grief to share your Love?
This Kingdom yet, which once you did prefer
To the worlds sway, this Beauty and this Heart
Is *Richards* still, millions of Loyal thoughts
Are always waiting there to pay you homage.
That glorious Empire yields to you alone,
No *Bullingbrook* can chase you from that Throne.
King. We'll march no farther, lead to th' Castle here.
[*Exeunt.*

By this scene Tate meant to show how good the King was, because his wife loved him so; this is a sort of logic in which the heart plays a larger part, obviously, than the head. The remaining new scenes involving the same characters exhibit precisely the same virtues and defects of Tate's style.

TATE AND CORIOLANUS

The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth, or the Fall of Caius Martius Coriolanus, need detain us but briefly. Shakespeare's Coriolanus seemed destined to be launched, with

new trimmings, during or after each of England's successive politico-civic upheavals; Dennis so set it forth after 1715, and Thomson, after the '45. Tate, perhaps taught by his experience with Richard II, was more careful in the following year (1682) at the same theatre (Drury Lane). "Much of that is offered here," he says in his dedication to the Right Honourable Charles Lord Herbert, "is Fruit that grew in the Richness of his [Shakespeare's] Soil; and what ever the Superstructure prove, it was my good fortune to build upon a Rock. Upon a close view of this Story, there appear'd in some Passages, no small Resemblance with the busie Faction of our own time. And I confess, I chose rather to set the Parallel near to Sight, than to throw it off at further Distance. Yet there are none that can apply any Part (as Satyr) on themselves, whose Designs and Practises are not of the same Cast."

The play is a fairly good, much curtailed copy of Shakespeare's great tragedy, until the end of Act IV. Act V is a succession of horrors, of Tate's invention. Nigridius (a character much elaborated from the mischief-breeding "Lieutenant" of the original) eggs on Aufidius, working on his jealousy and his envy of Coriolanus, until the death of the last-named results. Aufidius has fallen in love with Virgilia, wife of Coriolanus, and desires her. Aufidius determines to head a revolt in Corioles (as Tate writes it). Then comes the great scene of Volumnia, Virgilia and the boy softening Coriolanus to spare Rome. At the end, Conspirators enter and aid Aufidius to wound Coriolanus, who in turn wounds him. Aufidius gloats over his fallen rival, vowing that he will violate Virgilia before her husband's eyes. Virgilia enters, self-wounded to preserve her chastity. She dies, and Aufidius tells Coriolanus that little Martius has been tortured, his limbs broken, etc. Volumnia now runs in, raving, and in her distraction seizes a partisan and brains Nigridius. This gory stuff is all Tate's; remember, it was but a very few years since Ravenscroft's horrid Titus Andronicus had succeeded on the stage. Verily audiences at both shows supped full of horrors. In this last

baptism of blood, Coriolanus' little son has one of those pretty John-Websterian scenes of affected pathos, doubtless very compelling in its day; and, forsooth, it is a sweet bit. "Look," he says on beholding the dead bodies about,

> Look where my mother sleeps, pray wake her Sir;
> I have heard my Nurse speak of a dying Child,
> And fancy it is now just so with me;
> I fain would hear my Mother bless me first.
> . . . . . .
> Perhaps then I have done some Fault, makes her
> Not speak to me . . . . . .
> . . . . . I have heard
> My Grandmother say, a Roman General's son
> Should never cry.

The slight character of Valeria Tate has amplified into an affected fine lady of the Restoration period, with endless talk la! about dress la! her appearance la! her lovers la! her desire for things intellectual la! etc. She is about as Roman as Nell Gwyn or Pepys. The play, as a whole, as happened in every one of the alterations so far considered, has been made smaller in *motif* and pettier in design. The adapters worked so hard for regularity and unity that they squeezed out most of the grandeur and nobility of the original. This fate Coriolanus especially has suffered at Tate's hands; yet it is hard to see, for all that, why his King Lear should have lasted so long and his Richard II and Coriolanus have died so soon. Perhaps the acting had something to do with it, but more probably it was owing to the essential drama or lack of it in the plays involved.

For illustration, and to assist the reader to an idea of the way in which Tate has altered the original, I quote from the great scene in his fourth act—the scene of the mission of the Roman ladies to the Volscian camp, again using the Folio of 1623, and the first edition of Tate (1682). The order of Shakespeare's scene is so changed, and the ethic value thereby so impaired that I shall be forced to ask the reader to consult Shakespeare's own play to see how much damage

has been done. I am here interested especially in the language, and for that reason wish to use the parallel columns. A glance at Shakespeare will show that the order of my left-hand column is not his.

	SHAKESPEARE		TATE
Vol.	Thou art my Warriour, I hope to frame thee. Do you know this Lady?	*Vol.*	My Fire-Ey'd Warrior, do you know this Lady?
Cor.	The Noble Sister of *Publicola;* The Moone of Rome: Chaste as the Isicle That's curdied by the Frost, from purest Snow, And hangs on *Dians* Temple: Deere *Valeria.*	*Cor.*	The Noble Sister of Publicola, The Moon of Rome, Chast as the frozen Snow, That hangs on Diana's Temple.
Vol.	This is a poore Epitome of yours, Which by th' interpretation of full time, May show like all your selfe.	*Vol.*	And this divine Epitome of Yours; This little Martius whom full Time shall ripen Into your perfect self.
Cor.	The God of Souldiers: With the consent of supreame Ioue, informe Thy thoughts with Noblenesse, that thou mayst proue To shame vnvulnerable, and sticke i' th Warres Like a great Sea-marke, standing euery flaw, And sauing those that eye thee.	*Cor.*	The God of Battles With the Consent of fav'ring Jove inspire Thy Thoughts with Nobleness; that thou mayst prove, The Wars proud Standard fixt in Tides of Blood; Like a tall Sea-mark o're the dashing Waves, And saving those that view Thee.
Vol.	Your Knee, Sirrah. . . . . . Even he, your wife, this Ladie, and my selfe Are Sutors to you.	*Vol.*	Your Knee, Sirrah, Ev'n He, your Wife, these Ladies, and my Self, Are humble Suitors—
		Cor.	Oh my boding Heart!
Vol.	Should we be silent & not speak, our Raiment	*Vol.*	This Liv'ry was not for your Absence wore;

And state of Bodies would bewray what life
We haue led since thy Exile. Thinke with thy selfe
How more unfortunate then all living women
Are we come hither, etc.
So dear we knew your safety to the Gods:
But now put on as funeral Robes, and Mourning
For our expiring *Rome*. O spare thy Country,
And do not murder Nature.

CROWNE AND HENRY VI

John Crowne's two parts of Henry the Sixth met on the stage a fate hardly more flattering than Tate's Richard II, and for the same reasons. The first part "With the Murder of Humphrey Duke of Glocester, as it was Acted at the Dukes Theatre, 1681" was, to judge from the prologue, produced precisely at the time of the Popish troubles, when

> The Vizards cackle here no more:
> Or if they hither come, 'tis but for fear,
> Lest zealous Constables find 'em elsewhere,
> And their torn coats for Romish reliques seize,
> And the poor Girles for painted Images:
> . . . . . .
> Today we bring old gather'd Herbs, tis true,
> But such as in sweet *Shakespear's* Garden grew.
> . . . . . .
> How e're to make your Appetites more keen,
> Not only oyly Words are sprinkled in;
> But what to please you gives us better hope,
> A little Vinegar against the *Pope*.

The Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Charles Sidley, Baronet, clearly shows that he had been "more bold, to the great displeasure of some, who are it seems ashamed of their own mysteries, for there is not a Tool us'd in the Murder of Duke *Humphrey* in this Play, but what is taken out of their own Church Armory, not a word put into the mouth of the Cardinal and his foolish Instruments but what first dropt from the Heads that adorn their own Church Battlements."

Crowne's first part is really made up from the first three acts of Shakespeare's Henry VI, Part II. These three acts

are unquestionably the best portion of all three parts of Shakespeare's play on the sixth Henry. They comprise, it will be remembered, the working out of the conspiracy of Beaufort, York, Suffolk and Queen Margaret against the Regent, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, and his arrogant Duchess. I have always felt that in themselves they constitute an excellent play, and regretted that Shakespeare had, after the downfall of this noble pair, added the trifling episodes of the Jack Cade Rebellion and York's revolt against his sovereign. Crowne has certainly preserved unity of plot, but, by diluting the material of Shakespeare's three acts into five, he has sadly weakened the quality of the product. In his days, a three-act tragedy would have been an inconceivable breach of propriety; hence, perceiving the necessary unity of part of Shakespeare's work, he was forced to expand it to what must have seemed to his contemporaries, as to us, insufferable lengths. Besides, some of Shakespeare's material is left out—the actual contest of Peter and the Armourer, and the killing of Suffolk, of whose death we are informed by the messenger who brings his head to the sinful queen. The space thus created is filled by some sickly love-scenes between the Queen and her lover.

Crowne's original contribution is the three murderers. Through them he pours out his "Vinegar against the Pope." The third murderer employed by Cardinal Beaufort to kill the Duke assassinates only to keep his wife and children from starving. The trade really goes against his conscience, but he has been forced to it, in spite of purchased prayers, specially bought from prelates, which seem to bring no desired monetary returns. And now the Cardinal tells him it is his duty to kill Humphrey—a heretic. The third murderer asks how the Cardinal knows the Church is infallible; the Cardinal answers very simply that it is infallible because it says it is so. In another scene the Cardinal also tells the Conspirators that he has "a body of church doctrine" for the ignorant, and an "effervescent spirit" of it for the learned—like York, Somerset *et al.*, who are to kill Humphrey. Of course in 1681 this sort of stuff could not

please Charles II and the Duke of York; yet it was acted, until suppressed. The wonder is that the actors dared attempt it. Crowne, in the dedication to The English Friar, says "this play pleas'd the best men of England, but displeas'd the worst: for ere it lived long, it was stifled by command."

Crowne's boast that Shakespeare had "no Title to the fortieth part" of the play is ridiculous and mendacious; all, except the anti-papistical portion, is Shakespeare's in idea, even though Crowne has sadly changed the poetry, and added much verse of his own. Crowne ends the play with a violent, raving death for the Cardinal, in which he sees Glocester's ghost; with the scene of the presentation of Suffolk's head to Margaret; and with the news of Cade's rebellion and York's uprising, the King suspecting York to be the cause of both.

There are really far worse Restoration tragedies than this of Crowne's. It has a neatness of plotting and execution that merits praise; the trouble is that it is beaten out too thin for constant wear. Let me end by repeating that where Shakespeare's ideas and wording are retained they have suffered what in this sense I shall take the liberty of calling Tatefication; where Crowne interprets his characters in his own words, he produces stuff as bad and as un-Shakespearian as this scene between the Queen and Suffolk, Act III, Scene 2:

Suff. I think I promis'd you, that wonderful,
That ravishing moment, when I first beheld you,
When Fortune prodigally propitious to me,
With Lawrels crown'd my Sword, my Arms with Beauty,
Flung Captive in my Arms such wondrous Beauty,
That when I saw it, I cry'd out amaz'd,
Our thund'ring Canons sure, has tore the heavens,
And through the Chrystal breach, an Angel's dropt.
Qu. And I, when first I saw brave *Suffolk* shining
In Armour Victory, but most of all
In his own Charms! Oh! said I to my self,
I'le wonder now no more the English Conquerors,
They are Angels all, or Angels fight for 'em.

Suff. I most unworthy to support so bright
A Heaven of Beauty, did retire to gaze, etc.

. . . . . .

Qu. How often has our Love in groves and gardens
Fill'd every Creature near us with such spirit,
That they have danc'd to Death, as they were stung;
The Birds have chirp'd their little souls away,
The turtles bill'd till they have no breath;
The Winds have sported wantonly around us,
Till they have swoon'd away into a calm.

THE MISERIES OF CIVIL WAR

Crowne's second part, or The Misery, as the title-page has it (the running caption at the heads of pages has *Miseries*), of Civil War, produced at the same theatre, the previous year, is largely taken from the third part of Shakespeare's play. The bits concerning Cade's rebellion are from the fourth act of Shakespeare's Part II, but otherwise the material of Shakespeare comes from his Part III. Crowne in the prologue outrageously asserts

The divine *Shakespear* did not lay one Stone.

He didn't; he laid hundreds. Perhaps that is what Crowne meant to say. Crowne, however, introduced the character of Lady Elianor Butler, one of the mistresses of Edward, afterwards Edward IV, who is passing the night with her in their first scene; in the early morning Richard summons him to go to his father. Later on she meets him on the battle-field and remains with him in a shepherd's cottage. They meet on the final field at the end of the play, she disguised as a boy, and he kills her. Also in battle, Warwick sees Lady Grey going off with the body of her husband; he falls in love, and tries to woo her *à la* Richard III and Lady Anne; rejected with scorn, he cynically tells her to depart and mourn for six months; he sees her again before he starts on the embassy to France and assures her he will return and marry her, whether she will or no. She now goes to the King for help and wins his love and a crown. Of course

this business motivates Warwick's turning against the King and supporting the Hyrcanian Margaret.

All the other scenes are Shakespeare's, except one preceding the murder of little Rutland by Young Clifford; in this episode Crowne shows Plantagenet sadly taking leave of his son, oppressed with the ominous sense that he will never see him again. This scene makes far more pathetic the following incident of the wanton slaughter of the boy. Crowne's device was used by Theophilus Cibber in his adaptation (1723) and by Edmund Kean, if the version was his, a hundred years later. It has some feeling, which tempts me to quote it here:

Plant. My Darling, let me kiss thee e're I go,
I know not if I e're shall see thee more;
If I should fall under the numerous Enemy,
I leave thee to the care of thy three Brothers,
All valiant men, and some of 'em I hope
Will be great men, be Kings; I charge 'em all
On my last blessing to take care of thee,
My pretious Darling, as of their own Souls.
Rut. Why do you talk thus, Sir? you make me weep,
If you must dye, I hope I shall dye with you;
I had rather dye with you than live a King.
Pl. Sweet Boy, farewell, my Soul;—here take the boy,
And guard him safely in the strong dark Vault, etc.

DURFEY'S INJURED PRINCESS

With the next work to be discussed, I leave the group of political plays attributable to the years 1678–82. No one can deny that its author, "Tom" Durfey, gave it a fascinating title: The Injured Princess, or the Fatal Wager. As if this were not enough, he supplied the running caption, The Unequal Match, or the Fatal Wager. This production saw the light in 1682, and was, according to the title-page, acted at the Theatre Royal. Genest assigns its production to the old actors before the union of the two companies in November, 1682; I believe it may have been first acted after the union, by the mixed company resulting therefrom.

There is no cast of the characters, such as was usually printed on the obverse of the title-page. Here the actors' names are omitted. But, oddly enough, we are helped by a curious blunder in the printing of the tragedy. Instances will recur to the reader of cases in which prompters' directions have crept into the text of plays; one such is found here. The copy reads

ACT II

Enter behind Cymbeline, Queen, a *Purse, Pisanio,* Doctor *and* Guards, a *Viol,* Mrs. *Holten,* Sue.

The reader has probably already forgotten that I asked him to remember the name of Mrs. Holden until the year we are discussing, 1682. Mrs. Holden was a member of the Duke's Company, and, according to Downes, acted, in the early days, the part of Count Paris's Wife in Romeo and Juliet. Mrs. *Holten* is sufficiently like Mrs. *Holden* to satisfy any Restoration printer or author; besides, Downes was a notoriously bad speller. What I am trying to suggest is that The Injured Princess was acted *after* the union of the Companies at the Theatre Royal in 1682. If Mrs. Holden was still on the stage in that year, it is altogether likely she remained in the company with which she was originally associated; the patents of Davenant and Killigrew distinctly forbade passing from one company to the other; but she could have gone with impunity to the Theatre Royal, *after* the union. The printer's blunder above referred to would indicate that Mrs. Holden (or Holten) acted in The Injured Princess at the Theatre Royal—probably in the part of Aurelia, the queen's attendant—a small confidant part—which is just the kind of part you would expect the enactor of "Count Paris's Wife" to be entrusted with; Mrs. Holden was a member of the Duke's Company in its early days; *ergo,* Mrs. Holden must have acted in The Injured Princess at the Theatre Royal *after* the union of the two companies. The only other possibility is that it was acted previously by Davenant's company; the epilogue says it "was writ nine years ago." The prologue speaks of it as

a "revived" play; this has generally been assumed to mean a Shakespeare play revived. The greatest obstacle to my theory is that the play is not mentioned by Downes, who before 1682 wrote chiefly of the Duke's Company, and does not speak of the King's Company for several years before that. After the union in 1682, he does not mention this play as acted by the combined forces.

Nevertheless, the name of Mrs. Holten will not from my mind. And the reason is this: I have a theory that almost all of the most flagrant perversions of Shakespearian plays are directly attributable to Davenant and Betterton, rather than to Killigrew, Hart and Mohun. If The Injured Princess could be traced to the Duke's Company influence, it would strengthen my theory; beyond that, and I suppose in that, it is a matter of no importance.

And now, Reader, as De Quincey would say, what was The Injured Princess? It was Cymbeline—but with a difference. Something of poetic delight departs in the very re-naming of the characters. Posthumus becomes Ursaces (a vile name), Imogen is re-named, most commonplacely, Eugenia, the Italian Iachimo is denationalised into the Anglo-French Shatillion. Pisanio keeps his name and loses his nature; he at once believes in Imogen's guilt, and hence we lose all liking for him. Philario is now Beaupré. The name Iachimo is used for a "roaring drunken Lord," a companion of Cloten, who, like his stepfather, Cymbeline, keeps his Shakespeare-given name. The two royal boys half-change to Arviragus and Palladour; and in some scenes they have changed parts. Arviragus, not Palladour (Guiderius), kills the braggart Cloten. A thoroughly up-to-date subplot (that is in 1682) is supplied by Clarina, a harmless unnecessary daughter of Pisanio, and attendant on Eugenia. This gentle soul has a horrible time with Cloten and his friend Iachimo, who kidnap her, with the Queen's connivance, their minds bent on foul deeds. Of course the girl eludes them, and all ends happily. Otherwise, the events are largely of Shakespeare's devising, and with much unifying sweep on to a tragi-comedy dénouement.

The great change is in the hateful loss of Pisanio's faith in Eugenia; that really spoils the entire play—he repents too late to satisfy us. Some of the alterations of Durfey disfigured Cymbeline for many years; Hawkins used them in 1759. As a matter of fact, even in Shakespeare's play, Imogen shines like a rich jewel in an Ethiop's ear; one wishes Shakespeare had made the details of his play less revolting. All the adapters have done is to take away the poetry and leave the horrors. The exquisite cave scenes are always shorn of every particle of their loveliness; and other noble passages share the same fate. In this version of Durfey's the dirge is eliminated, with all its surrounding beauty of thought and expression.

1692-1700

For the next ten years (1682–92) no further onslaughts were made on the Shakespearian territory. Many of the alterations I have already discussed had been tried and shelved forever; perhaps we might affirm that only Davenant's Macbeth and Tempest, Shadwell's Timon of Athens, Otway's Caius Marius and Tate's King Lear persisted through the ten years I have mentioned, to say nothing of the times beyond. On the other hand, certain interpolated passages in Crowne's Henry VI and Durfey's Injured Princess continued to be used in later versions of the plays on which they themselves were founded. Whether the years in question offered too rich a feast for theatre-goers in original tragedies and comedies, or whether playwrights were discouraged by the failure of attempts already made, or whether the combined repertoire of the two theatres sufficed the united actors, I cannot say; at any rate, Shakespeare, as represented in 1682 by stock versions of his greatest works, was, for ten years to come, considerately freed from further violation.

In 1692, however, a new outbreak of the epidemic began to be observed. These feeble stage-craftsmen simply could not leave Shakespeare alone. It is interesting, in this last

period, to note that the movement swings full circle and comes back to the comedies, generally neglected since the early '60's. For eleven years (1692–1703), six new playwrights sailed out, to use Tate's expression, in Shakespeare's bottom, and all but two so quickly came full on the rocks that it seems almost uncharitable to bring them again to view above the waters. The six plays involved were The Fairy Queen, an opera, founded (if not foundered) on A Midsummer Night's Dream (1692); Measure for Measure, or Beauty the Best Advocate (supposedly by Charles Gildon) in 1700; Colley Cibber's Richard III, in the same year; The Jew of Venice, by George Granville, afterwards Lord Lansdowne, 1701; The Comical Gallant or the Amours of Sir John Falstaffe, by John Dennis (1702) and Charles Burnaby's Love Betray'd; or the Agreeable Disappointment—a sweetly-pretty title under which I defy any one not heretofore initiated to recognise Shakespeare's Twelfth Night. This last-named and, fortunately for many years, last despairing effort to polish and refine Shakespeare was staged in 1703. It is an interesting fact that all except two, by Cibber and Dennis respectively, were brought out under Betterton's direction, he, as usual, carrying on Davenant's reckless wholesale system of change at any sacrifice or cost. Yet even here the unexpected trips up our generalisation; the only new acting version at the end of the century that offers Shakespeare undiluted, if condensed, is Betterton's Henry IV, Part I (1700)! And his Part II (if it be his) gives little but Shakespeare, though in it are incorporated passages from another play.

THE FAIRY QUEEN

The Fairy Queen was produced anonymously at the Queen's Theatre, as Dorset Garden had been called after the accession of James II in 1685. This theatre, since the union of the companies, was used occasionally for spectacular shows and operas requiring much stage room. And spectacular and operatic the production notoriously was.

At the end of each act is a most elaborate entry. The music was by the famous Purcell. Much stress was laid on the operatic aspects of the show. The preface speaks of the great success of opera in Italy and France, with the "machines" employed; and asserts that The Siege of Rhodes was a perfect opera, though it lacked the ornament of "machines."

In the story not many changes occur. The character of Hippolyta is omitted, but otherwise things run on much as in the original play, except for the ultra-elaborate "entries" at the end of acts. According to the practice of Tate and Crowne, the lines are robbed of all poetry. I cannot refrain from showing Shakespeare's much-quoted

> For ought that euer I could reade,
> Could euer heare by tale or historie,
> The course of true loue neuer did run smooth,

as "improved" in 1692:

> O my true Hermia! I have never found
> By observation, nor by History
> That lovers run a smooth and even course.

Every time I come on one of these alterations, and they are the rule in most plays discussed in this chapter, I try by every process of historical readjustment to understand what the adapter thought he was doing for Shakespeare; invariably I am forced to give up the problem.

One change that should be recorded is that of having the mock-play of Pyramus and Thisbe performed in the third act, just before the transformation of Bottom. This transposing gives more room for the unusually elaborate and gorgeous "entry" at the end of the fifth act. This and all "entries" will be discussed in the chapter on scenery.

GILDON'S MEASURE FOR MEASURE

Eight years passed before Charles Gildon (if it was Charles Gildon) produced Measure for Measure, or, Beauty

the Best Advocate, at Lincoln's Inn Fields, for five years now the home of the actors—including Betterton, Mrs. Barry, Mrs. Bracegirdle—who had seceded from the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane in 1695. Gildon in The Two Stages Compar'd (if indeed that interesting pamphlet is his), speaks of this play as Shakespeare's "to the letter"; he—if it was he, and it was his—was obviously proud of it.

As a matter of fact it was an effort exactly like in character to The Fairy Queen, an opera in the sense of play, with a grand entry at the end of each act, employing elaborately allegorical and mythological stories unrolled to the accompaniment of rich music, vocal and instrumental, and magnificent scenery and machines, involving increasingly surprising transformations, as Elkanah Settle put it, "in the twinkling of an eye." Eschalus in Gildon's Measure for Measure, is, for some preposterous reason, presenting before Angelo a masque in four parts, on his birthday. This masque thus goes on side by side with the play, and uses much of the Dido and Æneas fable, with storms, ships, ascending and descending gods, and other favourite material hereafter to be discussed. Obviously this is not Shakespeare "to the letter"; probably Gildon meant that he had removed Davenant's fragments of Much Ado about Nothing, and restored Shakespeare's original story to something like its former unity.

He has, it must be confessed, made a play much more in accordance with Restoration ideals than was Shakespeare's. All the comic characters, Elbow, Lucio (except for Scene 1), Froth, Pompey, Abhorson, Barnardine, Mrs. Overdone, are omitted. The action takes place either in the Palace or in the Prison; the story goes forward with remarkable deftness and directness. Minor details completely change the plot. Angelo has secretly wed Mariana, and deserted her when she lost her fortune; hence Isabella has no hesitation in applying the trick of the Duke's to save Claudio. Claudio almost stumbles into begging Isabella to save his life with her honour, but scrambles out neatly, on Isabella's outburst of righteous scorn, by saying his speech on the horrors

of death was preliminary merely to his begging Isabella to look out, after his death, for Juliet. Juliet is really his wife; they had married in secret, to save her fortune. In fact, everything marital in this play, though secret, is eminently respectable. Of course the Duke straightens out matters in the end, and forces Angelo to right the wrongs of Mariana. He, himself, does not marry Isabella.

By 1700, when this effort was revealed, people were not so sure of themselves in "bettering" Shakespeare; their minds began to be clouded with a doubt. Gildon, for instance, though he dims Shakespeare's verse, and makes it appear like the moon in eclipse, is far nearer the original than was Davenant in The Law against Lovers, or Davenant, Tate, and the rest in other works. A glance at the scenes between Isabella and Angelo and Isabella and Claudio will convince of this. But the epilogue, spoken by Verbruggen as Shakespeare's ghost, though only half sincere, nevertheless shows the way sentiment was drifting:

> Enough, your Cruelty Alive I knew
> And must I dead be Persecuted too?
> Injur'd so much of late upon the Stage,
> My ghost can bear no more; but comes to Rage.
> My Plays, by Scriblers Mangl'd I have seen;
> By Lifeless Actors Murder'd on the Scene.
> Fat Falstaff here, with Pleasure, I beheld,
> Toss off his Bottle, and his Truncheon weild:
> Such as I meant him, such the Knight appear'd,
> He Bragg'd like Falstaff, and, like Falstaff, fear'd.
> But when, on yonder stage, the Knave was shewn,
> Ev'n by my Self, the Picture scarce was known.
> Themselves, and not the Man I drew, they Play'd.
> . . . . . .
> Oh! if Mackbeth, or Hamlet ever pleas'd,
> Or Desdemona e'er your Passions rais'd:
> If Brutus, or the Bleeding Cæsar e'er
> Inspir'd your Pity, or provok'd your Fear,
> Let me no more endure such Mighty Wrongs,
> By Scriblers Folly, or by Actors Lungs.
> So, late may Betterton forsake the Stage,
> And long may Barry live to Charm the Age.

The above reference to Falstaff at Drury Lane, it will be observed, was made two years before Dennis's Comical Gallant was printed; it could hardly, therefore, be excited by that abortion.

CIBBER'S RICHARD III

This play of Gildon's, like its prototype, The Fairy Queen, quickly went its way to deserved oblivion. Quite different was the fate of another experiment during the same year. We have seen how great was the vogue of Tate's King Lear; another play to live on even longer in equally mangled form was Colley Cibber's Richard III, played first by the author at Drury Lane, in 1700. This version has really never been driven from the stage; it is probably a more effective acting vehicle than Shakespeare's. It simply strings together bits of Henry VI, Part III, Richard II and Richard III, interpolating even much of the best part of the first scene from Henry IV, Part II, where Northumberland learns of the death of Hotspur. Many lines of this are given to King Henry in his first scene, where he is informed of the death of his son. Henry V also contributes. Into Richard's soliloquy on the eve of battle, 14 lines are interpolated from the fourth chorus of Henry V; lines more out of character it would be hard to imagine. A few other lines are included from Henry V, about the host of "mounted scarecrows," over which the greedy crows fly, "impatient for their lean inheritance." This play, then, is a thing of shreds and patches. It omits many passages of Shakespeare's Richard III, Clarence's dream and Margaret's curse, for instance, and it interpolates one by Cibber himself, that in which Richard informs his wife—Lady Anne—that he is weary of her, and means to marry her successor. The pathetic scene of Elizabeth's farewell to her sons is also Cibber's; it contains but little Shakespearian material. The aim is to make the leading character, as Hazlitt says, more villainous and disgusting; hence, the play opens with several scenes from the end of Henry VI, Part III, showing the murder of the King by Gloster. It has always been a

thriller, and, as Shakespeare's play is not among his best, perhaps no great harm is done.

Few people know that the line so much admired by critics, the fearfully succinct line assigned to the tyrant,

> Off with his head; so much for Buckingham,

is Cibber's; also the frequently-quoted "Richard's himself again!" The play as a whole must be regarded as a good representative of Restoration tragedy, with its accentuation of horror and rhetoric. In this respect, however, it hardly exceeds Shakespeare's. At least, Cibber "corrected" Shakespeare in general by Shakespeare, by scenes from his other plays; he did not, like his fellows, rewrite many of the lines. Cibber tells us, in the Apology, that the Master of the Revels "expung'd the whole first Act" of Richard III for fear "the Distresses of King *Henry the Sixth*, who is kill'd by *Richard* in the first Act, would put weak People too much in mind of King *James* then living in *France*. . . . In a Word, we were forc'd, for some few years, to let the Play take its Fate with only four Acts divided into five."

THE JEW OF VENICE

Like Richard III, Lansdowne's Jew of Venice (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1701) had a long life on the stage, subsisting until 1741, when Macklin finally acted "the Jew that Shakespeare drew." As usual, the reader sees it was Betterton's company that performed the piece. Also, as in the case of Measure for Measure, Shakespeare's Ghost (with Dryden's as well) is made to speak (this time) the prologue. In the whole realm of fatuous self-praise nothing can surpass the compliment Granville delivers to himself through the mouth of the slaughtered bard. It is like seething the kid in its mother's milk to force Shakespeare to say:

> These Scenes in their rough Native Dress were mine;
> But now improv'd with nobler Lustre shine;
> The first rude Sketches Shakespeare's Pencil drew,

But all the shining Master-strokes are new.
This Play, ye Critics, shall your Fury stand,
Adorn'd and rescu'd by a faultless Hand.

This ridiculous stuff apparently was expected to go down with the playgoer; but a more apologetic tone exists in the Advertisement to the Reader:

Undertakings of this kind are justify'd by the examples of those Great Men who have employ'd their Endeavours the same way: The only Dramatique Attempt of Mr. *Waller* was of this Nature, in his Alterations of the *Maid's Tragedy;* to the Earl of *Rochester* we owe *Valentinian:* to the Duke of *Buckingham, The Chances.* Sir *William Davenant* and Mr. *Dryden* united in restoring the *Tempest: Troilus and Cressida, Timon,* and *King Lear* were the work of three succeeding *Laureats:* Besides many others, too many to mention.

The lines added by the reviser are "markt," i. e., with inverted commas, "that nothing may be imputed to *Shakespear* which may seem unworthy of him." Much of the original is removed, and Lansdowne literally "makes hash" of Shakespeare's verse. Some prose speeches are turned into verse merely by being broken into lines of fairly equal length, as Shylock's

To bait Fish withal; if it will feed nothing else it
Will feed my Revenge: Thou hast disgrac'd me,
Hinder'd me half a Million; laught at my Losses;
Repin'd at my Gains; scorn'd my Nation;
Thwarted my Bargains; cool'd my Friends,
Enflam'd my Enemies; and what's the Reason?

Here is a warning example to all would-be improvers:

Portia. 'Had choice decided, and not only Chance,
'As Fortune has disposed me, so had I.
Myself and what is mine, to you and yours
Is now converted. But now I was the Lady
Of this fair Mansion, Mistress of these Servants,
Queen o'er myself, even now, and in a Moment,
This House, these Servants, and myself their Queen,
Are yours, my Lord. I plight 'em with this Ring,
Which when you part 'em [*sic*], lose, or give away,

Let it presage the Ruin of your Love,
'And stand as a Record, that you were false,
'A follower of my Fortunes not of me,
'And never meant me fair.

Bass. 'Dye first, *Bassanio*, my Mistress, and my Queen,
'As absolute as ever shall you reign.
'Not as the Lord, but Vassal of your Charms,
'Not as a Conqueror, but Acquisition.
'Not one to lessen but enlarge your power.
'No more of this, the Creature of your Pleasure,
'As such receive the Passionate Bassanio.
Oh there is such Confusion in my Powers
As Words cannot express: But when the Ring
Parts from this Finger, then Parts Life from thence;
Then say, and be assur'd, *Bassanio's* dead.

Pray note the dreadful work that has been done on the lines not "markt"; what Lansdowne considered his own are almost the worst in the whole realm of Shakespearian alterations. As a matter of fact, the number of interpolated lines is very great—perhaps one third of the entire play. Besides, lines are shifted about and cheerfully given to other characters; for instance Lorenzo's

The Man who has not Musick in his Soul
Or is not touch'd with Concord of sweet Sounds
Is fit for Treasons, Stratagems and Spoils

is incorporated in Bassanio's speech at the Banquet, just before the performance of the Masque. Betterton played Bassanio, and probably seized on the lines for his own part.

Lansdowne's most ambitious addition in matter is the scene of this banquet to which Shylock was "bid." "The scene opens and discovers Bassanio, Antonio, Shylock, and others, sitting as at an entertainment. Musick playing: During the Musick, Gratiano enters and takes his place." Antonio drinks to eternal friendship; Bassanio next proposes "to Love"; Gratiano, the Sex in general. Shylock—sitting apart—drinks to his mistress, Money. The scene ends with a very long masque—it will be observed that this is the third comedy so far considered, with this appendage,

and in each case Betterton was responsible. We begin to see what his discontented contemporaries meant by reviling him for fostering a taste for such things. Lansdowne's masque, here, is concerned with the subject of Peleus and Thetis, involving these characters, Jupiter, Promotheus (so spelled throughout) and Chorus. At the end, Bassanio is informed his ship is ready (for Belmont) and after a long farewell to Antonio, departs. This masque was omitted in later Eighteenth-Century performances of Lansdowne's play.

Another extra scene is in a prison, between Shylock and Antonio, the former protesting he will have his bond. In the trial scene are many interpolated lines, especially for Gratiano, to increase the comic effect of his attacks on Shylock.

It has been said that this Shylock is a comic creation; we know the part was played originally by the celebrated comedian Dogget. If it was funny to audiences of the time, it must have been in action and appearance; the words spoken by the Jew are no funnier, in the author's intention, than Shakespeare's, and Shylock has fewer lines by the adapter than has almost any other leading character in Lansdowne's play. The humour of the part is not evident in reading. Since the laws of unity eliminated the Gobbos from the action, Shylock may, in some mysterious way, have been made to fill the gap they left.

Lansdowne's work, however, is a gross vulgarisation of the great original. It could have persisted only in an age that tolerated Davenant's Macbeth and Tate's Lear. In all three, the essential strength of the stories and the characters must have carried the pieces through; certainly all are lacking in the charm and nobility belonging to the Shakesperian works they so sadly parody. Reading any one of them is like an attempt to see beloved features through a mist or in encircling gloom. Literally, Shakespeare is "smeared over" by the inferior stuff so proudly vaunted by the perpetrators. It is almost like a rouged corpse—a thing too ghastly to conceive of.

The wearied sense is glad to find that only two other masterpieces of the poet were thus maltreated for many years to come,—The Merry Wives of Windsor (1702) and Twelfth Night (1703).

In reading John Dennis's scolding complaint in his preface to the very George Granville who had so degraded The Merchant of Venice, one is pleased to learn that the public had failed to respond to his efforts in The Comical Gallant, acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. But Dennis, sturdy old egotist, attributes the failure to the play's having "been unfortunate in the Representation." He had thought Shakespeare's play "by no means a despicable Comedy," and "believed it not so admirable but that it might receive improvement." "I have made everything instrumental to Fenton's marriage, and the whole to depend on one common Center. . . . I have added to some of the parts in order to heighten the characters. . . I have . . . endeavored to make the Dialogue as easy and free as I could."

The opening scene gives the clue to Dennis's plan of making Fenton and his affairs the chief centre. Fenton tells the Host of the Garter Inn that he has set Sir John to believe the wives in love with him; he urges the host to start the duel between Sir Hugh Evans and Dr. Caius, in order to interfere with the plans of Page to marry Anne to Slender and of Mrs. Page to marry her to Caius. Anne enters and there is a long love scene almost *à la* Restoration comedy, Anne and Fenton using the courtly love language of those staccato times. In another long scene between these two toward the end, Fenton directs her as to what to wear in the Herne's oak revels; her father expects her to wear red—her mother, yellow; she will, of course, wear something of Fenton's devising.

Ford's disguise-name is Broom. Mrs. Ford is Fenton's aunt, and helps him to win Anne. Mrs. Ford's assignation with Falstaffe is at the Bull Inn—kept by her brother, the

Host of the Bull Inn, and an important character. The meeting is broken up by Mrs. Page, disguised as a swaggering Captain Dingboy, who threatens Sir John, shoots off a pistol, and scares him prodigiously. She leaves him to meet Ford, while she and Mrs. Ford pretend an assignation in the next room. Falstaffe is carried out in the buck basket and dumped in the river.

On the advice of the Host of the Bull Inn, Ford dons Falstaffe's wet clothes and departs, to meet Mrs. Ford at Herne's oak. Some confusion of identity results, ending in a fight between him and Falstaffe. The episode of the Fat Woman of Brentford is omitted; also the character of Dame Quickly.

One of the scenes between Ford (Broom) and Sir John is grossly indecent in language; Falstaffe, mistaking Ford's perturbation for passion, imagines for him a scene that, as Genest would say, must not be printed. All these episodes are spun out to intolerable length, making the play very dull reading. Dennis in his preface says he elaborated these scenes because he thought in the hands of good actors they would go very well; and he was disappointed even in that!

One is glad that Dennis's play was the failure it deserved to be. One need be no great admirer of The Merry Wives of Windsor, to prefer it to The Comical Gallant; and on general principles one likes to see John Dennis humbled.

BURNABY'S LOVE BETRAY'D

The last of these impertinences, in one sense for all time, and in any sense for a great length of time, was Love Betray'd; or the Agreable Disapointment, "a Comedy, as it was Acted at the Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, by the Author of the Ladies Visiting-Day, 1703"; that is, a version of Twelfth Night by Charles Burnaby. The Preface to this compilation exhibits exactly the same semi-modest tone that we find in the Advertisement to the Reader prefixed to Lansdowne's Jew of Venice. "Part of the Tale of this Play," says Burnaby, "I took from Shakespear

[he does not admit how large a part], and about 50 of the Lines; Those that are his, I have mark'd with Inverted Commas, to distinguish 'em from mine. I endeavoured where I had occasion to introduce any of 'em, to make 'em look as little like Strangers as possible [he succeeded, employing with consummate selection the least poetic of Shakespeare's lines] . . . . . that they wou'd be easily known without any Note of distinction."

My statement that these comedies transformed from 1692 to 1703 were chosen by their mutilators for masque and operatic possibilities is verified—so far as he alone can do it—by Burnaby: "The Conduct of the Drama I broke by design, to make room for a Mask that is Mention'd in the last Act, but the House neglecting to have it set to Musick, the Play came on like a change of Government, the weight of the Calamity fell among the Poor; that is, the chief Persons only were taken care of without any regard to those of Inferiour condition."

These self-revelatory plaints indicate a rather severe failure for Love Betray'd; its utter neglect thereafter by managers would strengthen this impression. Let us see whether or not the lack of success was merited.

Shakespeare's Duke is now named Moreno, Sir Toby becomes hopelessly lost as Drances, and Malvolio and Sir Andrew Aguecheek merge into the one forgettable character Taquilet, whose name is even harder to remember than his deeds. Olivia is changed into Villaretta; Antonio becomes Rodoregue. Sebastian and Viola (Cæsario) keep their Shakespearian nomination. Burnaby's new characters are of his own time and place. Dromia is an amorous old servant of Villaretta's house in love with Sir Toby; Emilia is the regular Restoration witty, staccato-laughed confidant to Villaretta. Shakespeare's Maria is cut up between these two, and the two halves by no means equal the whole. Taquilet, as I have said, is a union of Sir Andrew and Malvolio. He is fooled by Drances (Sir Toby) into believing that Villaretta loves him. Emilia and Dromia, behind the arras, spy on him as he goes through something like Malvolio's letter scene, but like Cerberus,

being two gentlemen in one, he is immediately obliged to transform himself into Sir Andrew and become jealous of the attentions lavished on Cæsario by Villaretta. All the episodes of the duelling scenes are retained,—Taquilet's fear, and Cæsario's; and, later, the successive interferences of Rodoregue (Antonio) and Sebastian, with Rodoregue's asking Cæsario for the purse, and Sebastian's marriage with Villaretta, and all the subsequent scenes of mistaken identity resulting therefrom, right on to the dénouement.

Minor differences, though big in general effect, are these: Viola has loved the Duke, and for his sake has fled from France to take service with him; Sebastian has followed in the next ship (she knows nothing of this), and is wrecked, naturally fearing that she also may have been. If she is alive, he can identify her by a mole on her left arm. Unfortunately no one else knew of this mole; hence the confusion of identity at the close of the play. A new character, Laura, in employment at the Duke's Court, recognises Cæsario, whom she has served in France, and is used to straighten out the complications at the end. Another new part is Pedro, servant to Sebastian; he is a dirty-mouthed piece of obscenity, to be found five years after Jeremy Collier's muckraking, and richly deserves the smart blows administered to him by the insulted Emilia. The only other new scene I shall mention is an Hispano-Molière episode effected by Laura. For some reason, probably absurd but quite undiscoverable, Laura advises Cæsario to disguise him (or her) self as a physician Villaretta has sent for, to see if she really hates the Duke; the scene that results (Act IV, Scene 1) is stupid and pointless to a degree.

Some scholars have asserted that there are traces of All's Well that Ends Well in this concoction of Burnaby's; if so I cannot find them. I believe the piece failed not because it was intrinsically worse than many contemporary productions, but because Shakespeare's poetry reduced to prose—and such prose !—loses all reality and is neither fish, flesh nor good red herring. Better The Way of the World or She Wou'd and She Wou'dn't than a romance with all poetry evaporated out of it.

BETTERTON AND HENRY IV

So much for the re-writing of Shakespeare in the last years of the century, and beyond. It will now be necessary to go back to 1700 and gratefully review a publication of that year—King Henry IV. With The Humours of Sir John Falstaff, "a Tragi-comedy. As it is acted at the Theatre in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields, etc. Revived with Alterations." The changes are usually ascribed to Betterton. Gildon's Comparison between the Two Stages (1702) humorously recounts the contest between Betterton and Rich at their rival houses, with Betterton praying for aid to Shakespeare, and Rich to Jonson, whose comedies he drew up as "Battalia against *Harry* the 4th and *Harry* the 8th" at the other theatre. In this version of Henry IV it is again a matter of "cutting," not of re-writing Shakespeare. The long speeches of the council are considerably curtailed; Lady Percy's first speech is much abridged. A great deal of the interesting Scene 1 of Act III is omitted, everything in fact after Percy's

> I do not care, I'll give thrice so much Land
> To any well-deserving friend.
> But in the way of Bargain, mark ye me,
> I'll cavil on the ninth part of a hair.

This leaves out a good deal, including the scene with Glendower's daughter and Lady Percy.

In Act III, the King's speech of 63 lines beginning

> God pardon thee! Yet let me wonder, Harry, etc.

is reduced to 27 lines. All of Scene 4, Act IV—that between the Archbishop of York and Gentleman—is expunged, as is much of the fifth scene of Act IV, the 1700 version beginning with

> *Enter* Hotspur.
> If I mistake not, thou art *Harry Monmouth.*

As a matter of fact, this is all merely judicious curtailment for stage presentation, as was that of Hamlet, previously mentioned. The same remark, however, cannot apply so fully to the alteration of the second part of the play, published in 1719 [?] as The Sequel to Henry the Fourth, "alter'd from Shakespear, by the late Mr. Betterton."

Jaggard records editions of The Sequel in 1700 and [*c.* 1710], the first "as acted at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane." How could Betterton, whose name is on the title-page, have altered the play in that year for that theatre? He was directing the theatre in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields, and the title-page of the First Part of Henry IV (1700) assigns that play to that house. The 1719 version also ascribes the alterations to Betterton. Accepting this evidence at face value, and admitting the probability of Betterton's acting Falstaff in both parts of the great historical play, we may safely examine here the 1719 edition of The Sequel. We are pleased to find that it, like the first part, really gives very little but Shakespeare; it omits scenes, and transposes, but it adds only occasional words by the reviser.

For instance, both of the Northumberland-Lady Percy scenes are entirely omitted; this begins the play with the entry of Falstaff and his page, and the subsequent passage of wit with the Chief Justice. In the following bit between the Archbishop of York, Hastings, Mowbray, etc., who resolve to continue the rebellion against Henry, the speeches are mercifully cut to stage limits, and nothing but Shakespeare is spoken. This episode ends Shakespeare's first act, but the new version adds the first scene of Shakespeare's Act II, the immortal scene of Falstaff, the Hostess, the Chief Justice and Gower, shortened somewhat, and with occasional changes of a word. All the big scenes of the original—that between Poins and the Prince, that in the Tavern, the Shallow episodes (except one), etc.—though curtailed and sometimes transposed, are used with full effect. Two Falstaff bits are omitted. The King's famous soliloquy on Sleep is transposed from the third to the fourth act, where it comes just before the wonderful scene between

the King and his wayward son. The scene between Henry V and the Chief Justice is put at the end of Act IV, to make way for new material in Act V, no less than part of the first act of Henry V, the Chief Justice and the Archbishop of Canterbury justifying Henry's claim to the throne of France. Then enters the French Ambassador, led by Cambridge, Scroop and Gray, with the gift of tennis balls. The play ends with the discovery of the plot of these last three men against the King, and their being sent to death.

In general, the words are to a reasonable extent Shakespeare's; the play is interesting, though it is hard to see why the discordant excerpts are introduced from Henry V.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has tried to show what, during the fifty years (1660–1710) characterised as the Age of Betterton, had been the fortunes of Shakespeare on the stage. It is clear (1) that certain works came down uninjured and (2) that the attempts to improve or refine or polish or make "fitt" the others for succeeding audiences fall distinctly into three groups, chronologically, and in regard to the purpose of the adapters.

(1) Four of the greatest of the works of the poet, Hamlet, Othello, Julius Cæsar and Henry IV, Part I, were, as we have seen, practically uninjured by patentee, stage-manager or playwright. Omissions were noted, slight changes occurred, even transpositions of scenes, but in essentials these four dramas were presented as their author left them. Henry VIII perhaps was treated with equal respect.

(2) The changed plays fall, in order of production, into three distinct groups. Measure for Measure and Much Ado About Nothing (combined in The Law Against Lovers), Macbeth, The Tempest and The Taming of the Shrew (Sauny the Scot), constituting the first group, came in the first decade of the Restoration period, when both patentees were trying all sorts of old plays, until the new school of playwrights led by Dryden had become thoroughly estab-

lished. Davenant in this period evidently chose works that lent themselves readily to "operatic" treatment, that is, allowed of singing, dancing and spectacle. James Howard's Romeo and Juliet we do not know, except on Downes's evidence. A later manifestation of the operatic treatment is found in 1674, in The Tempest of Shadwell, and possibly in Macbeth.

The second group, several years later (1678–82), concerned itself with plots of historical subject, whether classical or English, and pressed into service certain plays of romantic or mythical interest that lent themselves with greater or less readiness to connection with the troublous political times in those very years of Charles II's reign. These plays were Timon of Athens, Titus Andronicus, Troilus and Cressida, Antony and Cleopatra (if Dryden's All for Love must be included); Coriolanus (The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth), the second and third parts of Henry VI (respectively, The Murder of Humphrey Duke of Glocester, and The Miseries of Civil War) and Richard II (The Sicilian Usurper); also—with a difference—Romeo and Juliet (Caius Marius), King Lear and Cymbeline (The Injured Princess).

The third class of adaptation swings back (1692–1703), in the main, to the comedies, which were severely manhandled and tortured into forms of masque or opera. A Midsummer Night's Dream (The Fairy Queen), Measure for Measure, The Merchant of Venice (The Jew of Venice), The Merry Wives of Windsor (The Comical Gallant), Twelfth Night (Love Betray'd) were thus treated, as investigation proves, with an astonishing similarity both of apology from the authors and of ruthless barbarousness in the setting forth. Cibber's Richard III is the only tragedy in this group.

Of the alterations cited above, Macbeth, Timon of Athens, Caius Marius and The Jew of Venice had a long life of fifty years or more, driving the originals for all that time from the stage. 1741–44 saw the final passing of all except possibly Timon of Athens. The Tempest, King Lear and

Richard III had a much more protracted vogue, going on, in part at least, into the Nineteenth Century. Sauny the Scot was first printed in 1698, and may have been acted up to that time; certainly throughout the life of Lacy, its actor-author. The rest of the adaptations failed to establish themselves permanently as stock plays; some, like The Sicilian Usurper, and The Murder of Humphrey Duke of Glocester, were suppressed by law—the rest, I suppose, by popular verdict. Yet several of these failures handed on scenes or motives to future adapters—the Plantagenet-Rutland bit in Humphrey, and the Pisanio doubt of Eugenia (Imogen) in The Injured Princess.

I have tried, by liberal quotation from the prefaces, prologues and epilogues of the various productions, to show something of the attitude of the various revisers toward the great plays they mangled. Evidently they treated Shakespeare as a wayward child of extraordinary cleverness. They must polish his jewels and sweep away the dust-heap in which these jewels had so long been concealed; or they must free his garden from the weeds whose rank growth was killing the flowers. To do him these valuable services they must rewrite his plays, change and alter scenes at will, or write in new ones; they must revise and make more correct every single line, until its own author would not have recognised it. Those lines which could not be retained must be superseded, when necessary, by original lines of the adapters. Shakespeare's verses must give way to those not only of Dryden and Davenant and Otway; not only, even, to those of Tate and Shadwell and Crowne; but even to those of George Granville and Charles Burnaby and Thomas Durfey—Ossa reduced to a wart! I have quoted enough of these changes to give the reader a fair idea of what the age of Betterton meant by polishing the jewels of Shakespeare.

In view of the evidence adduced, the reader will hardly dispute my assertion that the age treated Shakespeare with little reverence. The attitude toward him becomes increasingly one of reverence and adoration; but authors and

actors had the knife (or the scissors) in the hand that poured out the libation or offered the sacrifice. They kissed him ere they killed him. Nevertheless, we must not be hard on them; they knew their age, and we who criticise do not. If that was the only way in which Shakespeare could be preserved for frivolous audiences, better the fragments of the feast than nothing to eat. In the age of Wycherley and Congreve even Tate's Lear must have had some hints of elemental grandeur for theatre-goers a little more serious in mind; and we who "do something for" the poet by smothering him in scenery and music and spectacle, thereby "cutting" some of his finest scenes, must not inveigh too heavily against an age that smothered him in its own way. Besides, Shakespeare was not the only victim; other Elizabethans, particularly Beaumont and Fletcher, also suffered throughout the period. In the craze for opera (1692–1703), The Prophetess and The Island Princess lifted up their voices, as it were, in song, along with the Fairy Queen, etc. And Cibber, after "doing" Richard III, forcibly joined two plays of Beaumont and Fletcher in Love Makes a Man (1701). The list of such atrocities is very long, beginning (?) with Davenant's revision of The Two Noble Kinsmen, in 1664.

CHAPTER III

SCENERY AND STAGING: INTRODUCTORY

THE COURT MASQUES TO 1640

The period we are discussing was the first to make use regularly of scenic adornment in the presentation of plays. This change was nothing short of revolutionary, involving, as it did, not only a new kind of background for the action, but a complete departure from earlier practice in the shape of the theatre, of the stage, and in course of time of the drama itself.

Hitherto, in England, as in France and Italy, the enjoyment of scenery had been an aristocratic privilege. In the Elizabethan and later periods, the popular stages, with their long tongue-like projections into the pit, forbade anything like setting in our sense of the word. Whatever attempt was made toward decorative detail began and ended with the placing of properties on the inner stage; the bare, neutral outer platform, home of rant and fustian, as well as of glorious poetry, remained ever merely a vantage-ground for actors, never becoming a field for the exertions of scene-painters or property-men. But at court all was different; the long line of masques royally presented through the years 1605–40 elicited the finest efforts of Inigo Jones, the master-mechanician and scene-builder, and offered a progression of spectacular splendours never since equalled in the history of the English court, or possibly even of the English theatre. The stage of the banqueting hall or, in the latest years, of the masquing-house in Whitehall Palace witnessed, from time to time during the thirty-five years mentioned, pageantry of a magnificence almost beyond belief. A reading of the descriptions of scenery found in the printed copies of masques by Jonson, Shirley and Davenant causes amazement as to how the effects could have been accomplished.

Possibly Jonson was the first dramatist to complain that his poetry was swallowed up in scenery.

Davenant, of abiding importance as the first to introduce scenery on the public stage at the Restoration, wins antecedent interest as deviser of masques in the final days of Charles I. In fact the very last of such entertainments presented at the court of this unlucky monarch—the Salmacida Spolia, January, 1639–40—was by Davenant, and mounted with a gorgeousness hitherto unequalled in that scene of the triumphs of Inigo Jones. It is, therefore, a remarkable coincidence that the same author, Davenant, should have been concerned with the last spectacle on the royal theatre in 1640, and with the very first on the popular stage in 1656, or, more emphatically and permanently, in 1661. Verily there must be a divinity that shapes our ends (and our beginnings) into such beautiful symmetry.

THE SALMACIDA SPOLIA

The Salmacida Spolia, the flower and culmination of the court entertainments of Charles I, employed the best efforts of the master-magician, Jones. Fortunately, his plans for the stage erected for the performance are to be found among the Lansdowne manuscripts, and show a perfect system for the manipulation of scenery. Five sets of grooves for side-wings and four for back shutters or "flats" tell the story of how important shiftings of scenery were managed. But four grooves were required for the back-shutters, because the last grand pageant of the show called for a "cloth" at the rear wall of the house; in other words, the entire depth of the stage was utilised. Borders also moved along grooves in the "flies" or upper regions, and joined to the tops of wings or "flats" below. This all looks remarkably modern. The use of a windlass for the lowering and hoisting and trans-crossings of the clouds and chariots of the "divinities" is indicated in the second of the two drawings. Probably these ground plans of Jones represent the very utmost of stage management and equipment known up to

that time; in fact, they surpass anything of which I have cognisance. Jones's own drawings for the stage of the ballet Florimène, in 1635, display an inferior method of mounting and working scenes, something suggestive of the rectangular perspective dear to all early designers.

It is significant, then, that Davenant could at such close range observe the mounting of this last of all the masques; arch-believer in scenery, he saw the very best scenery producible at that time. It must be remembered that in these entertainments two kinds of effect were aimed at—the first pictorial, the second (and more important), mechanical. In other words there was scenery, but, above all, there were "machines," that moved, in the air above or on the level of the platform below. Those curious in such matters may find in Nicolo Sabbatini's "Practica di Fabricar Scene e Machine ne' Teatri" (Ravenna, 1638, and of exactly Jones's time, therefore) a very lucid description of the propelling of these giant motor-cars of decoration. Sabbatini shows how to imitate the motion of the sea by a painted cloth waved by men, or by a series of cylinders rolling and turning. Methods of piloting ships in various directions across this unsteady base are explained. Clouds glide along rails, placed on high at the back of the scene; lights behind make these clouds translucent. The sound of thunder, the flames of hell, the falling of the scene in ruins—means for producing all these attractive devices Sabbatini clearly elucidates; even the stage conflagration, which, however, he warns against as a source of great danger. Of course so skilful a stage mechanician could not fail to give directions for the most beloved of machines, that to whisk the gods up or down, over or across, to or from their celestial abode.

Of all such stage trickery Inigo Jones was past master; in fact, some of the things we know of his art make the effects described by Sabbatini and his predecessor Serlio seem, by comparison, puerile in the extreme. It is probable, therefore, that what Davenant saw of Jones's accomplishment in 1640 came near to attempts that we might admire to-day. At any rate, Professor Brander Matthews, in his

Evolution of Scene-Painting, reports that the late Charles Nuittier, the archivist of the Paris Opera, believed the resources of the Opera did not go beyond those which were at the command of the Italians three centuries earlier. "They could do then," he asserted, "almost everything we can do now here at the Opera. For example, they could bring a ship on the stage under full sail. We have only one superiority over them: we have abundant light now, we have electricity, and they were dependent on candles and lamps." A reading of Sabbatini, of whom M. Nuittier was speaking, and of the earlier Serlio, whose book on Architecture was published in 1560, would justify the Frenchman's encomium. And even the lighting effects, though less brilliant, must have been very soft and lovely, if carried out as the Italians direct. It was not a question of how much light, but how beautiful and how skilfully placed, as modern stagecraft also shows. One of the most interesting features in Jones's stage directions is his provision for lighting the scenes by direct or indirect radiation. The problem of illumination exercised his best talents.

The reader must go to the copy of Davenant's masque—the Salmacida Spolia of 1640—for details of the mechanical delights offered. The concluding spectacle showed three clouds coming from various parts of the upper stage and filled, in one case, with eight persons representing the "Spheares," in another, with "Musicke." At last, beyond all, "a Heaven opened full of Deities, which celestiall Prospect"—ecstatically gasps the book—"with the Chorus below filled all the whole Sceane with apparitions and harmony." The "Spheares," I may say, passed, at the close, (like a flying ballet, I surmise) "through the Ayre." Obviously the "machine" and the massing of figures superbly and harmoniously clad—in the Salmacida Spolia the colour scheme was exquisitely French, with its combination of "watchet and carnation" (or blue and pink)—were counted on to supply the chief and most dazzling effects; but the scenes, also, mere pictures though they apparently were and not setting in our sense of the word, must have been

conceived in a high realm of illustrative art. Unless the descriptions of spectacle in the printed copy of the masque represent things hoped for, not realised or even realisable! Yet we must not forget the accounts of gorgeous court entertainments in France and Italy; and Charles I spent vast sums on such toys.

THE PUBLIC THEATRES TO 1642

It is impossible to determine just how much spectacle the frequenters of the Globe, the Blackfriars and the other public and so-called "private" houses were accustomed to. Certainly nothing like the splendours of Whitehall ever reached a public stage. But it is possible that, even in the later years of Shakespeare, something had been borrowed from the masques. The antimasques, or grotesque and fantastic dances at the beginning of the court entertainments, were usually performed by regular actors, who could not fail to carry back to the playhouses some of the ideas picked up during the performance at court. Professor Ashley H. Thorndike has convincingly demonstrated that many of the masques of later Jacobean plays, especially Beaumont and Fletcher's, were introduced in imitation of the court entertainments. Shakespeare's Tempest has many qualities of a masque, and one scents the antimasque in the pack of animals that drive off Caliban and his drunken crew; the Iris and Juno bit might have been, and possibly was, prepared for court. The dance of satyrs in The Winter's Tale also has antimasque resemblances.

These devices in and before 1613 required but little, if any, scenery, beyond the properties of the regular Jacobean stage. But there is reason for believing that in 1640, when Davenant doubtless was keenly observing the stage-effects of his Salmacida Spolia, some attempts had been made to present plays with scenery in the public theatres. Mr. W. J. Lawrence has treated this subject in his essay on the Origin of the English Picture Stage, and calls attention to the directions for setting in Thomas Nabbes' Microcosmus, a

Morall Maske, "presented with generall liking at the private house in Salisbury Court," and, as he says, "nowhere else." This piece calls, in masque fashion, for a proscenium and scenic changes of a rather elaborate character. The title-page (1637) bears, however, the significant words, "heere Set down according to the intention of the Authour." Does this mean that his intention was not carried out? Suckling's Aglaura, more frequently cited, was, as the title-page of 1638 informs us, performed at Blackfriars; it was probably acted also at Court. The author bore the cost of production, mounted it with splendour, and expended great sums on the costumes. Unfortunately the printed copy of the tragedy bears no descriptions of scenery.

If Microcosmus and Aglaura, not to mention others, had been offered to the public with painted scenes, Davenant must have felt that by 1640 a way had been paved for what was then with him a cherished plan. And here we are fortunately on firm ground. In 1639 he secured a patent to build a theatre behind the Three Kings Ordinary in Fleet Street. This patent authorised him to "entertain, govern, privilege, and keep such and so many players and persons to exercise action, musical presentments, scenes, dancing, and the like . . . . and from time to time to act plays in such house so to be by him or them [i. e. his heirs] erected, and exercise musick, musical presentments, scenes, dancing or other the like, etc." Much discussion has waged around the terms *musical presentments* and *scenes*, but I am willing to take them at their face value, and translate them into something analogous to Davenant's own Siege of Rhodes, presented in 1656, "with recitative music, and with scenes in prospective." The plan of structure and of presentation exemplified in that production may not have been clearly in the poet-manager's mind when in 1639 his patent was granted, nor in 1640, when he witnessed the performance at court of his Salmacida Spolia, but something like this was in germ in the privilege then accorded him of offering in his public theatre "musical presentments, scenes, dancing, or other the like."

Another detail has not, so far as I know, been stressed: his patent called for the erection of a new theatre. Possibly this would have been legally necessary, in any case; but artistically it was imperative. If he desired to present plays "with scenes," a new kind of stage would be required; the long tongue of the regular theatres would not suffice. Before a satisfactory picture production could be presented, a new house and a new stage must be invented and built. Was uncertainty as to these things a cause of delay in the carrying out of Davenant's plans? At all events, the scheme for the time came to nothing. Davenant was appointed director of the company acting at the Cockpit in Drury Lane. The great civil war broke out, the theatres were permanently closed in 1642, and dark days ensued for all stage folk. Davenant, after being knighted at the siege of Gloucester, retired to France. Later, and for a long time, he was imprisoned in the Tower.

DAVENANT'S ACTIVITIES, 1656–1659

In May, 1656, however, Davenant, by some authority which we need not here investigate, began, as we have seen, to feel his way tentatively toward the gratification of his ambition to present opera. Not wholly unmolested by the Puritans, he brought out, first, a wholly undramatic thing called the "Entertainment by music and declamation after the manner of the ancients," and on a day now unknown, followed it with the first part of The Siege of Rhodes, the first English opera and the first play positively known to have been presented with scenery in a public theatre.

The room in which occurred this highly important historical event was at the back of Rutland House in Aldersgate Street, and was capable, we are told, of seating four hundred auditors; to allow of even this attendance, the stage was cramped to the narrowest limits. Davenant's preface to the printed copy ruefully apologises for his scenes "confin'd to eleven foot in height, and about fifteen in depth, including the places of passage reserv'd for the musick.

This is so narrow an allowance for the fleet of *Solyman* the Magnificent, his Army, the Island of Rhodes, and the varieties attending the Siege of the City, that I fear you will think we invited you to such a contracted Trifle as that of the *Cæsars* carved upon a Nut."

Here, then, we have at first hand, an idea of the conditions under which the first scenery was exhibited in an English theatre. Davenant also gives the name of the first scene-painter working for public approval. John Webb, thus made notable, was, it happens, a pupil and assistant of Inigo Jones. This fact is, as Mr. William Grant Keith points out, highly important. Webb had assisted Jones in the preparation of designs for the stage at the production at court of Florimène in 1635, and, more vital still, for that of Salmacida Spolia in 1640. Here then we find another unique point of contact. A prominent helper in devising the spectacle of the last court-masque is the painter of the first scene exhibited in a public theatre. This constitutes a kind of royal descent from the court masque to the Davenant opera that has been entirely overlooked by historians who insist on the indebtedness of Davenant in 1656 to his knowledge of the work of designers of operatic spectacle in France and Italy.

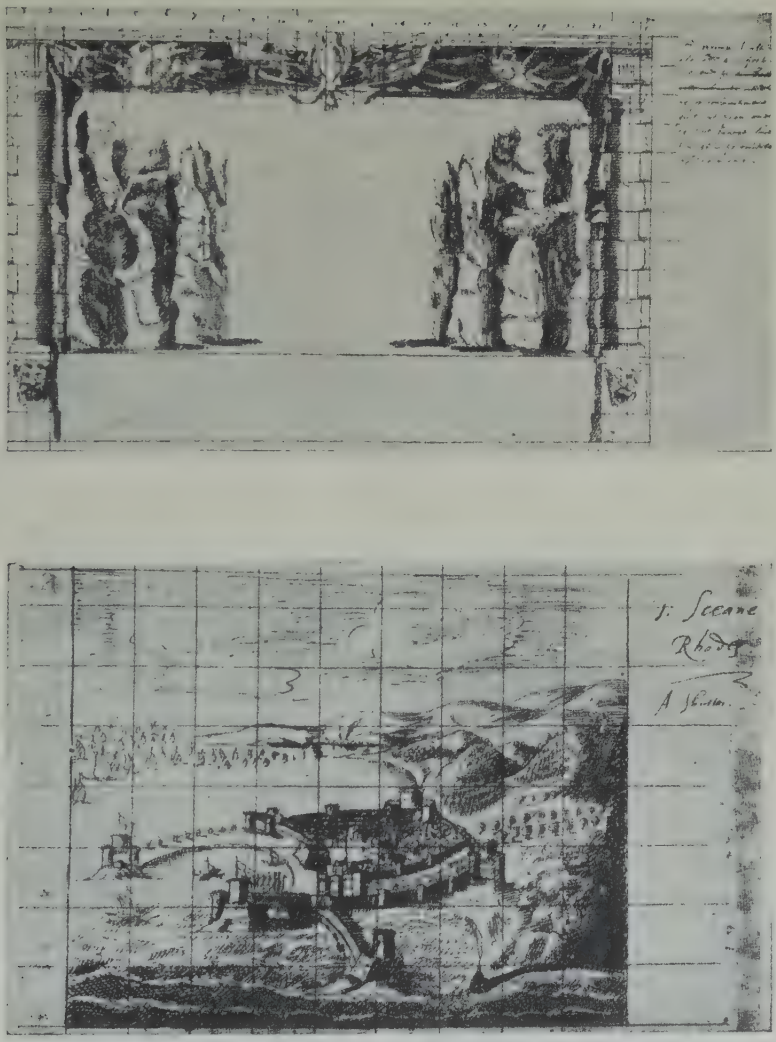
SCENERY FOR THE SIEGE OF RHODES

Thanks to the research of Mr. Keith, we are enabled to follow with practical certainty the efforts of Davenant in the early ventures at Rutland House. In the Burlington Magazine for April and May, 1914, Mr. Keith sets forth convincingly the claims of six drawings in the library at Chatsworth to be regarded as the authentic scene-designs for the first performance of The Siege of Rhodes. Hitherto these sketches had been classified as models for Lord Orrery's Mustapha, requiring a similar setting, and also produced several years later with scenery by Webb. The drawings are executed in squares, each representing a foot; in the representation of the proscenium each square is

worked out on a basis of five-sixteenths of an inch to the foot, in the others, to five-eighths of an inch to the foot. The resulting measurements correspond, to a reasonable degree of accuracy, with those cited by Davenant in his address to the Reader, just quoted. Among the Lansdowne MSS. Mr. Keith finds two separate sheets, a plan and a section of a stage which, though unsigned, he unhesitatingly accepts as the designs for the stage at Rutland House on which Webb's tiny pictures were exhibited.

Aside from this technical detail, a glance at the scene-drawings, and a comparison of them with Davenant's verbal descriptions, will convince scepticism itself that these are semblative of what the spectators of 1656 beheld. The first represents the proscenium, wholly in accord with what the book demands of "divers Habiliments of War," with the "Military Ensigns of those several Nations, who were famous for defence of that Island." From this drawing we learn indubitably that the side-wings remained stationary throughout the play; they are represented denuded of a back-scene, and were as much a fixture as the proscenium. They accord with Davenant's description: "The Curtain being drawn up, a lightsom Skie appear'd, discov'ring a Maritime Coast, full of craggy Rocks, and High Cliffs, with several Verdures naturally growing upon such Scituations."

Through—literally *through*—these rocks the actors must have walked to get on the stage. The scenes remained stationary probably for the excellent reason that there was not room enough to pull them back in the spaces out of sight of the audience, as had been done in Salmacida Spolia, where the side-scenes changed with the back shutters. At Rutland House there was room behind, at the sides, only for the "places of passage reserv'd for the musick," possibly wooden stairs leading to the music-room above. Lack of space, then, literally enforced permanent side-scenes. Such rocky barriers to Solyman's pavilion, one would think, must have excited surprise, if not mirth, in an audience witnessing even its first play with scenery.



PROSCENIUM AND SIDE-WINGS AND A SCENE FROM WEBB'S DRAWINGS, PROBABLY FOR THE SIEGE OF RHODES, 1656

From the Chatsworth Collection. Courtesy of the Burlington Magazine

The first "shutters" or "flats" that formed the background to these wings are thus described by the pen of the highly imaginative Davenant: "and afar off, the true Prospect of the City of *Rhodes*, when it was in prosperous estate; with so much view of the Gardens and Hills about it, as the narrowness of the room could allow the Scene. In that part of the Horizon, terminated by the Sea, was represented the *Turkish* Fleet, making towards a Promontory, some few miles distant from the Town." Poor John Webb! This was much indeed to represent on a stage "eleven foot in height, and about fifteen in depth." And the actors must have towered above the rocks and the houses!

Webb's design for this is entitled "Sceane, Rhodes. A Shutter." A shutter is the modern "flat," run—in two pieces—on grooves from opposite wings and clamping together when they meet midway of the stage. This and similar back-scenes in Webb's designs for The Siege of Rhodes were reduced, by laws of perspective, to exactly nine feet in length, and seven and a half feet in height! In no respect could they be considered nearly so tall as the language employed to describe them.

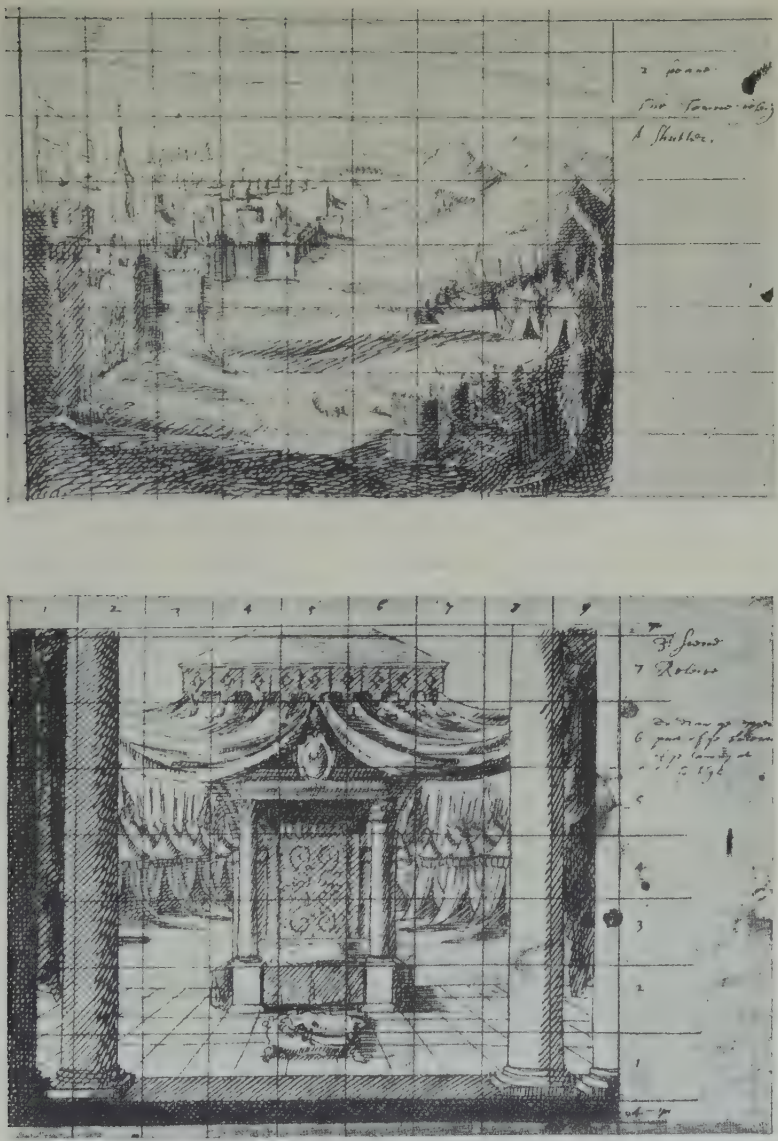
Evidently full stage was not always used for the scenes, for at the third Entry, "the further part of the Scene is open'd, and a Royal Pavillion appears display'd Representing *Solyman's* Imperial Throne, and about it are discern'd the Quarters of his *Bassas* and inferiour Officers." Webb calls this canopy scene a "releive." "These 'releive' scenes, or scenes in relief," as Mr. Keith says, "were apparently used when a greater effect of distance was required than could be rendered on a single back shutter, or flat, and they consequently were of composite form. . . . They were in common use in Inigo Jones's masque, and in the plan of the stage for Salmacida Spolia, they occupied the same position, i. e., between the back shutters and the backcloth."

In the fourth entry, "the Scene is vary'd to the Prospect of Mount *Philermus:* Artificers appearing at work [painted on the flats, of course] about that Castle which was there,

with wonderful expedition, erected by *Solyman*. His great Army [painted, not in person] is discovered in the Plain below, drawn up in *Battalia*, as if it were prepar'd for a general Assault." The army, thus drawn up, looks in the picture more like a flower-bed than a host of men. Mr. Keith thinks this scene also may have been a "relief," the city wall forming the "cut-out" through which the army was seen.

These scenes were changed in sight of the audience, music playing to distract the attention of the unwary; "the Entry is again prepar'd by instrumental Musick," is the customary way of putting it in the book. Of course the curtain was never lowered at such crises in the action. Furthermore, when the new scene was set, the spectators were allowed time, before the action began, to study the picture, and, as we might say, enter into the proper mood; the quaint direction after scene-descriptions in the Peruvian operas reads, the "prospect" or the "object," as the case may be, having "remain'd" or "continued awhile," and leaves no doubt of the practice mentioned. Looking at Webb's designs for The Siege of Rhodes, after a period of more than two centuries and a half, we are convinced, for our part, that Davenant's word-pictures were far more brilliant and satisfactory than were Webb's pencil-sketches. It is hard to think of scenery so much in miniature—"Cæsars carved upon a nut."

The reader will now realise that all this attempt at scenery fell far short, in conception, of what we should require to-day. Strictly speaking, it was not scenery at all—let me repeat—but pictures; pictures which were hung before the audience to get it into an understanding of the "locale" of the story. The back "shutters" were thus merely suggestive, and at times had actually nothing to do with the scene enacted on the stage. Often the back view of Rhodes besieged served as a setting for a scene within the town or even in the Turkish camp; once, the painting of Rhodes "in prosperous estate" continued on view while Ianthe and her two women discoursed in far-off Sicily. Furthermore, the grand panorama of the armies in battle was painted on the



TWO SCENES FROM WEBB'S DRAWINGS, PROBABLY FOR THE SIEGE OF RHODES, 1656

From the Chatsworth Collection. Courtesy of the Burlington Magazine

scenery, quite contrary to Serlio's advice. It might truthfully be said, then, that to Davenant and Webb, scenery meant a picture hung up behind the actors; it was not an environment in which they moved and had their being.

DAVENANT'S LATER OPERAS

The same reservations must be made in considering Davenant's two operas produced at the Cockpit in 1658 and 1659, respectively—the Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru and the History of Sir Francis Drake. These exhibited the same characteristics of a proscenium arch, permanent sidewings, a tropical wood ("with Coco Trees, Pines and Palmetas, and on the boughs of other Trees . . . Munkies, Apes and Parrots"), and figures fixed forever immovable on the back flats. In the Drake opera, I am sure that the "Marriner making his Ken" on the "top of a high Tree" was a mere painting; I can even believe that Pedro, if represented on the top of that tall tree (the wording is ambiguous), remained there, while his human representative entered on the stage below. At all events, as Professor J. W. Tupper has pointed out (Love and Honour, etc., 1909), in one instance we hear that the cattle are all driven off by marauders, while their painted semblances continue to graze peacefully on the back scene. All is convention on the stage; and we blandly accept whatever premises the stage magician imposes on our credulity.

Before leaving Davenant's early operas, I may say that it was probably to one of these performances that Evelyn refers under date of May 5, 1659: "Next day to see a new Opera, after the Italian way, in recitative music and sceanes, much inferior to the Italian composure and magnificence; but it was prodigious that in a time of such publiq consternation such a vanity should be kept up or permitted. I being engag'd with company could not decently resist the going to see it, tho' my heart smote me for it."

CHAPTER IV

STAGING: GENERAL CONDITIONS, 1660–1710

I have dwelt at length on the preliminary activities of Davenant, because I believe that the methods of scenic representation involved in The Siege of Rhodes were applied to the production of plays for many years after the Restoration. It will be observed that in his early operas Davenant made no use of "machines"; lack of space forbade. Even in his productions at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields after 1661 he was probably much hampered in the employment of such adjuncts; but as to scenes, I believe he made but slight advance—in conception—beyond the attempts of his Rutland House activities. This is clear to me from a study of illustrations to printed plays, even so late as the 1711 edition of Beaumont and Fletcher, many of the backgrounds of which are so like in spirit to Webb's drawings for The Siege that I cannot but believe them modelled from settings in the theatre. If such backgrounds were used in 1711, they were in all probability used in 1661, and during the fifty intervening years.

PROSCENIUM DOORS

As to the stage itself, we should err if we conceived of it as offering a radical departure from that of the Elizabethan playhouses. The proportion of space allotted to the two divisions of the outer and the inner stage was changed, but not the working principle involved. At first it was a difference of degree, not of kind. The proscenium inherited from the court-masque was now the determining factor; before it, in front of the curtain, by an adaptation of the Elizabethan platform or outer stage, extended, far into the auditorium, the "apron" so called. This curved considerably, and enforced the amphitheatrical arrangement of the

seats in the pit noted by Monconys; indeed, in that part of the house, the forward side-seats were literally on the side of the stage. At the back of this great outer platform the curtain shut off what corresponded to the inner stage of the Elizabethans—the place set with scenery. In the architectural bounds to the outer platform, that is, on both sides of the proscenium, were placed the stage doors, through which, more often than not, the actors made their entrances and their exits. This practice, so ridiculous to our modern sense, would, to those early players, with their idea of scenery as pictures set behind the action, no doubt have appeared perfectly congruous and natural. Like the Elizabethans, they walked out "on the stage"—hardly into a habitat prepared.

The proscenium doors persisted well into the Nineteenth Century. That they were regularly employed as entrances and exits at the very beginning of the period we are discussing is proved by reference to the printed plays of the time. In the first scene of the first act of the second part of The Siege of Rhodes—the first play produced by Davenant in 1661—occurs the direction, "Enter Ianthe and her two Women at the other Door." The last scene of Lee's Theodosius (1680) shows the continuance of the custom at Dorset Garden, the second home of Davenant's company: "The outward Part of the Temple [probably a pair of flats]: Enter Pulcheria and Julia at one Door, Marcian and Lucius at another." The actor, as we have said, also left the stage, frequently by these doors. So late as 1717, Mrs. Manley's Lucius "walks down the Scene, and Exit. Enter at another Door, Arminius and Silvius." The scene, be it noted, was a forest! But likewise in 1674, in James Howard's English Mounsieur, "*Exeunt* Welbred at one door, and Women at another."

The use of the word *another* will recall the discussion as to the possibility of four proscenium doors at the new Theatre Royal built in Drury Lane in 1674. *One door* . . . and *another door* would presumably presuppose at least three doors. But the reader may at once resign himself to expectation

of a confused voyage, if he embarks on a sea of conjecture supplied by stage directions in plays produced at these early theatres. Any inference drawn from the above citation from Theodosius as to more than two doors at Dorset Garden is at once invalidated by this equally puissant evidence from Sir Charles Sedley's Antony and Cleopatra, produced at the same theatre in 1677: "Enter Antonius, Canidius, Photinus, at one door, Agrippa, Thyreus, at the other." Yet in this very same play of Sedley's in Act V, "Enter Photinus at another door."

This is enough confusion for one theatre, and, to remove certainty as regards the four doors in Wren's Drury Lane of 1674, the reader may ponder this pretty spectacle at the beginning of Act III of Dryden's All for Love, produced there in 1678. As he seeks in vain in its wording for any possibility of more than two doors—Cibber and the Wren drawing to the contrary notwithstanding,—let him remember that Dryden, of all dramatists, should have known exactly how many doors there were in Drury Lane, since he wrote almost exclusively for that house! According to the direction, "at one Door enter Cleopatra, Charmion, Iras, and Alexas, a Train of Ægyptians: at the other Antony and Romans. The Entrance on both Sides is prepar'd by Musick," etc.

All I would indicate is that we cannot rely with any accuracy on these conflicting directions in plays produced at the same house. Probably some of the dramatists wrote with a hazy idea as to number of entries. Besides, this uncertainty of expression was an inheritance from the Elizabethan stage, as a glance into the First Folio Shakespeare will show. In King John, Act II, as printed in that precious tome, "Enter the two Kings with their powers, at severall doores." But in Henry V, Act V, "Enter at one doore, King Henry, Exeter . . . . At another, Queen Isabel, the King . . . . and other French." And to exhaust possibilities in this line, in Henry VI, Part II, toward the middle of the play (the Folio prints no act- or scene-divisions) "Enter at one Doore the Armorer and his Neighbors . . . and at the other Doore his Man . . ." And

yet the Elizabethan stage is supposed to have had but two doors!

In view of this, it is safe, perhaps, to accept regarding the Restoration stage, as Mr. W. J. Lawrence, once an opponent of the theory of four doors, has accepted (Musical Quarterly, January, 1917), the evidence of the Wren drawing; and as R. W. Lowe accepted the evidence of Cibber's "lower Doors of Entrance" (page 12), and the stage-direction of Etherege's She Would if She Could (1668): "Enter the Women, and after 'em Courtal at the lower Door, and Freeman at the upper on the contrary side." Unexpected support of the inference drawn by Lowe from this is found in Mrs. Behn's Feign'd Courtezans (Dorset Garden, 1679). Act V, Scene 1, is evidently a street-scene by night; a "door of the House" is involved. In the course of the action "they fight on Julio's side, and fight Octavio out at t'other side; Enter Laura and Sabina at the Fore-door, which is the same where Sir Signal stands. Tick-[letext] groping up that way, finds Sir Signal entring in," etc.

So far as I know, this support of the four-door theory has been overlooked; the "fore-door," apparently practicable, implies a rear-door, probably in front of the proscenium. Yet who can be sure? As has been suggested, there may have been doors hidden or tucked away in the very scenes themselves. A very pertinent stage-direction occurs in Mrs. Manly's Royal Mischief (1696); this direction in succinct italics calls for *a Noise at the Scene Door.* What was this door? Of course it might have been the proscenium door, but the scene happens to be one employing the more remote depths of the stage. The direction immediately preceding is "the Scene draws, and discovers the Princess Bassima fainting upon a Couch," etc. Very soon after the noise at the Scene Door, the final direction reads: "Here the Door is forc'd open, Levan and Homais enter, with officers, Guards and Soldiers." I wish I could definitely fix that door on its historical hinges, but must be content here to offer it as a possible entry in the wings. Or were the Restorationists using a box-set, with three walls and practicable doors, like the French setting of the

Chambre-à-quatre-portes? This possibility will be discussed later. But equally possible is a practicable door in the "flats," though one is not sure such a thing existed in 1696. Perhaps, after all, it is better to accept, thankfully, the Wren drawing, discovered by Mr. Bell, as the design for the Drury Lane stage of 1674. At any rate four doors were possible, we see; if only two of them, probably, were used for ordinary entrance and exit.

PROSCENIUM BALCONIES

Whatever the number, above each of the proscenium doors nearest the stage was a window, usually curtained, which could serve either as a casement from which the heroine looked out on the scene of action—a street, a square, a garden; or by its architectural suggestion of a railing, etc., as a balcony overlooking the same setting. This was probably part of the Elizabethan architecture moved forward in the Restoration houses with the rest of the building surrounding the inner stage. When the action was chiefly on the "apron" in the theatre of Betterton, the proscenium opening would serve merely as a frame for the picture formed by the shutting in of flats close to the opening itself. The "apron" then became the equivalent of the Elizabethan outer stage or platform, and the proscenium door, with the window or balcony above, was incorporated in the scene, as the front (or rear) of the dwelling of one of the characters in the play. The best instance of this custom with which I am familiar occurs at the opening of John Caryll's Sir Salomon, printed in 1671, "as it is Acted at his Royal Highness the Duke of York's Theatre" (that is, at Lincoln's Inn Fields). The case is so interesting that I quote it in full:

ACT II

Enter Sir Salomon *and* Timothy.

In the course of the scene

Sir Salomon *knocks at Mrs.* Betty's *Lodging.*
Alice from within. Who's at Dore there?

Ralph looking out from the Balcony. Gods so, 'tis Master.
Alice. What? our new Master, that gave us Mony?
Ralph. No, no, our old Master *Evans*, that never gave us a Farthing. Why don't you open the door?
Alice. An't be he, E'en open it your self: I am busie,
Ralph. Are you so? why then so am I too.
Sir Salo. Sure they must needs hear me knock, for I can hear them gabble: Ho; whose within there?
Ralph *speaks at the Belcony.*
Ralph. Sir, this Slut *Alice* won't open the dore.
Alice. Sir, this lazy Rogue *Ralph* won't let you in.
Sir Salo. Pretious Coxcombes; open the Door quickly, or I'le make you both fast this se'night from Beef and Pudding.
They both tumble down the stairs to the Door.
Alice. Stand off; I'le open it;
Ralph. You open it? You shall be hang'd first.
They break out at the Door together.

Far on in the third Act:

Peregreen *knocks at Mrs.* Bettys *Lodgings.*
Ralph *looks out, and shuts the Door upon him.*

. . . . . .

Ralph *and* Alice *both look out.*

. . . . . .

They shut the Door upon him again.

Then, later:

Mrs. Betty *from the Belcony* [*sic*] *throws down a Brickbat, and with it a Letter.*

A second (and final) illustration, from many that might be chosen, occurs at the beginning of the second act of Mrs. Aphra Behn's Rover (Part I) produced at Dorset Garden in 1677. Again the stage-directions are too illuminating to admit of omission in the slightest detail:

ACT II

SCENE I. *The long Street.*

Enter Belvile *and* Frederick *in Masquing-Habits, and* Willmore *in his own Clothes, with a Vizard in his Hand.*

Later in the scene occurs this direction:

> *Enter two Bravo's, and hang up a great Picture of* Angelica's, *against the Balcony, and two little ones at each side of the Door.*

. . . . . .

Later still:

> *Enter* Angelica *and* Moretta *in the Balcony, and draw a Silk Curtain.*

Still later:

> *Enter at one Door, Don* Pedro, *and* Stephano; *Don* Antonio *and* Diego *at the other Door, with People following him in Masquerade, antickly attir'd, some with Musick : they both go up to the Picture.*

At the end of the scene Willmore *goes in* (i. e., through the Door apparently). The rest *exeunt.*

USE OF THE OUTER AND INNER STAGES: FLAT-SCENES

The quotation from Mrs. Behn's play gives an invaluable hint as to Restoration stage convention. I can well believe that when, in Otway's Caius Marius, young Marius (Romeo) entered the garden, the stage direction, Lavinia *in the Balcony,* refers to the proscenium-balcony, and that Lavinia (Juliet) discoursed from that forward position her love-verse (Shakespeare tempered by Otway) to a lover already far advanced on the "apron"; after all, an audience must see, especially in an episode so important as the garden scene of Romeo and Juliet.

Much of the action, then, in Restoration theatres, was on the apron or outer stage. The backward-reaches were used, of course, when more elaborate staging was required. This becomes at once apparent as an adaptation of the practice of the playhouses of Shakespeare's time. It is now generally believed that the Elizabethan drama was constructed on some such principle of alternating scenes. If the scene was vague in locality, it was played on the outer stage; if it required scenery or properties, it was performed on the

inner stage, whose curtains would draw at the beginning and close at the end, leaving the actors to transfer their habitat once more to the unset and unpropertied outer-platform. Precisely the same principle was carried out in the Restoration theatre; only, instead of the curtains of the Elizabethan inner stage, painted flats, forming a background, shut in or drew out, to conceal or to disclose, respectively, the magnificence of the vaster setting on the great stage back of the proscenium.

One may read through the Restoration drama, and almost without exception, and generally without difficulty, apportion individual scenes to their proper position before or behind the proscenium. Mrs. Behn's plays are usually so specific in stage direction that I shall use for proof her Dutch Lover, produced at Dorset Garden, in 1673, and published in the same year. The opening scene is evidently a street, though not identified except by inference in the talk of the characters. This was undoubtedly played on the outer stage, with "flats" shoved in close to the proscenium. The second scene is "Ambrosio's House," and may with equal certainty be attributed to a second "flat" scene run in, on the second groove, behind the first, and disclosed by the drawing off of the street scene. By the drawing away of the second picture, a deep set of "a Grove" is discovered, probably with side-wings, and some pretence at scenic splendour, assuredly also to a greater depth of the stage. The next act begins again with "the Street," which I am convinced was run on immediately at the end of the first act to shut off the deep Grove scene then on view. For reasons hereafter to be cited I guess that this street scene was before the eyes of the audience during the intermission between the acts.

Generally the last scene of any act or the first of the following act is front "flats" of this sort; this seems to have been a matter of design, and served in full capacity of the modern curtain to shut off the stage from the audience during the *entr'acte*. The third and fourth acts of The Dutch Lover can be worked out in the same way, literally back-

ward on the stage, from front flats to deep sets and forward again. Act III, Scene 1, is "House of Carlo," a front set; the second scene is—note the specificness—"a flat Grove." Thanks to that word "flat," we will run the scene in the second groove just behind the painted simulacrum of Carlo's house, and disclose it by incontinently drawing off the latter "in one." A *flat* grove is now in the second groove; but it cannot remain there long, because it must be drawn off in turn for what is here unidentified but what in Act IV, Scene 3, is called a deep Grove—no flat grove this time, forsooth, but a *deep* one, cutting far back into the spaces of the stage, and calling for wings and trees. This Scene 3 of Act III discovers—doubtless at the pulling away of the flats—"Antonio sleeping on the Ground"; Hippolyta "sitting by, who sings"—a prearranged tableau for the delectation of a crowd in 1673. Last scene—and deepest—of all in Act III is the Garden, revealed by drawing off the "deep Grove," which was undoubtedly harder to uproot or remove than was its *flat* brother. We know the Garden was a deep, deep set, because of the stage directions: First "a noise of rural Musick is heard within the Trees, as Pipes, Flutes and Voices"; and almost immediately "Enter Swains playing upon Pipes, after them four Shepherds with Garlands and Flowers, and four Nymphs dancing an amorous Dance to that Musick; wherein the Shepherds make Love to the Nymphs, and put the Garlands on their Heads, and go out; the Nymphs come and lay them at Cleonte's feet, and sing." Obviously that sort of set requires room, and especially scenery; though I imagine the dancers soon came forward on the "apron," at that. It may be that sidewings of trees remained stationary for both of the groves and the garden set. I believe the scene of the garden was at the end shut in by flats of "Carlo's House" with which the fourth act begins. This flat-scene, I mean, faced the audience during the *entr'acte*.

Why go on? Almost all, indeed probably all, of the Restoration plays can be worked out on the same basis. It is not, perhaps, so easy to decide what sort of setting was

provided for the full-stage effects. What does Cibber mean by "a full set of scenes"? Davenant, in 1656 and 1659, was undoubtedly using flats and side-wings, working in grooves. At the very end of the century, the same principle was in force, as we learn from a careful study of the directions in the printed plays. The opening of Lee's Theodosius, a Dorset Garden production of 1680, is especially specific. The scene is a stately temple, which represents the Christian religion. "The side Scenes shew the horrid Tortures with which the Roman Tyrants persecuted the Church; and the flat Scene, which is the Limit of the Prospect, discovers an Altar richly adorn'd, before it Constantine, suppos'd kneels, with Commanders about him, gazing at a bloody Cross in the Air, which being encompass'd with many Angels, offers it self to view. . . Instruments are heard, and many Attendants: The Ministers at Divine Service walk busily up and down, till Atticus, Chief of all the Priests . . . in rich Robes, comes forward," etc.

Than this I know of nothing more admirable for my purpose; the scene is exactly placed before us, with side-wings and back-flat. Moreover, the back scene really bears as little relation to scenery in our sense of the word as do the drawings of Webb for The Siege of Rhodes. Contrary to the advice of Serlio, painted figures of Constantine and the commanders are kneeling before a painted altar, while human figures move about in the immediate foreground. This would to us be destructive of all illusion. The spectacular part of the ministers who "walk busily about" corroborates my contention as to the stress laid throughout the period on mass-grouping. Finally, the Chief Priest comes forward in "rich Robes"; spirit of Downes, "cloaths, cloaths, cloaths!"

Lee, whose plays, as printed, throw many suggestive lights on the subject of Restoration staging, shows at the beginning of Cæsar Borgia a scene which I cannot resist quoting: "Scene is a Chamber of State; at distance are discovered little American Boys with Boxes of Jewels in their Hands; on each side of the Stage, from the flat Scene

to the Chamber, long Indian Screens are spread at their full length." I confess I was puzzled by this direction until it occurred to me to substitute the word *of* for *to*, in one phrase. The meaning is then clear: from the flat-scene *of* the chamber, at the back of the stage, to the proscenium arch, on each side of the stage, extended rows of Indian screens, apparently serving as side-wings. Even though the side-wings of the chamber may have been used (one must tread warily), nevertheless some one in that early day seems to have had an Urban or Gordon Craig perception of the scenic value of screens.

Elkanah Settle also will help us to an understanding of stage effect from 1697 to 1701. Much of the scenery displayed in his World in the Moon and The Virgin Prophetess is rectangular "prospective," with palaces, or streets in rectilinear regularity. In The Virgin Prophetess, a scene apparently for dear perspective's sake, far to the rear, "twelve foot high and the like Breadth," we are told specifically "consists of three pair of Wings, and a flat Scene." The first scene of Act III is "the flat Pallace."

These spectacles required complete changes of scene, back-flats and wings; I wonder, however, how many ill-assorted sets of wings confronted the astonished vision from time to time in the two patent houses? We remember that in The Siege of Rhodes (1656) the side-wings remained permanent throughout the performance; that similar customs prevailed in the later regular theatres, at least for some part of a performance, may be guessed from the direction at the beginning of Act II of Dryden's Albion and Albanius (1685): "The Scene is a Poetical Hell. The Change is Total. The Upper Part of the House [i. e., the rear of the stage] as well as the Side-Scenes." *Voilà!*

That cut-work or "relieve"-work persisted is shown by the following description of the scene in Act IV of Settle's World in the Moon: "the Scene a Wood, near Thirty Foot high, the Paintings meeting in a Circle [this last evidently an attempt to escape the usual rectangular]; all the Side-Pieces and Back-Scene cut through, to see a farther Prospect

of a Wood, continuing to the Extent of the House." This is assuredly an elaborate set, but nothing to the last great scene, consisting of "a prospect of Terras Walks on Eight several Stages, mounted one above another" and containing "above Fifty Figures . . seen upon the several Terras's." This last effect was nothing but a vast "machine."

A very interesting but hitherto unanswered question is whether the Restoration stage used for interiors—domestic or palace—something like the *chambre-à-quatre-portes* of the French theatre; that is, a set consisting of three walls of a room, with doors of entrance. That such a set was known, even before the closing of the theatres in 1642, is shown by the prologue to the Duke of Newcastle's Country Captaine, printed in 1649, but produced at Blackfriars in 1640. This prologue has a fling at certain plays recently using scenery at the "private" houses; but The Country Captaine will aim to attract by no such allurements to the eye:

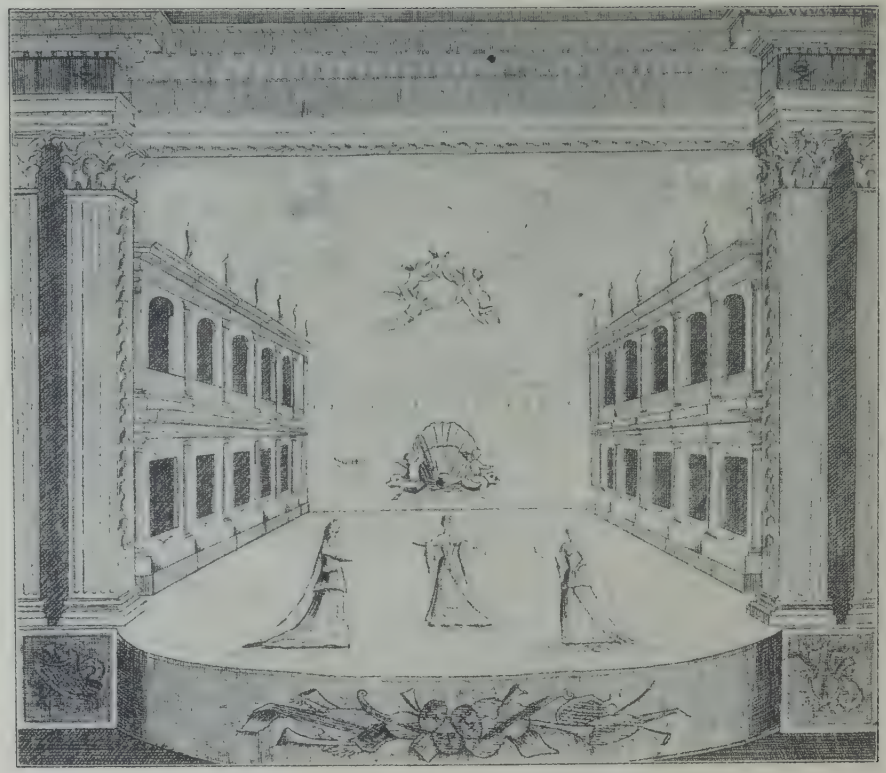
> Gallants, I'le tell you what we do not meane
> To shew you here, a glorious painted Scene,
> With various doores, to stand instead of wit,
> Or richer cloathes with lace, for lines well writ;
> Taylors and Paynters thus, your deare delight,
> May prove your Poets only for your sight.

This speaks conclusively for the age before Davenant's and Killigrew's theatres; that the *chambre-à-quatre-portes* became a heritage of the period of Davenant I cannot doubt, in view of the evidence of Richard Flecknoe. This unfortunate man published in 1667 a play, Damoiselles à la Mode, founded on comedies of Molière, more or less skilfully welded together. It was not acted, but the printed copy gives the cast at the King's Theatre that the author desired, produced in the book "that the Reader might have half the pleasure of seeing it Acted, and a lively imagination might have the pleasure of it all intire." What follows is the rarest "find" conceivable; "the Scænes & Cloaths being the least Considerable in it, any *Italian* Scænes with four Doors serving for the one, and for the other any *French*

Cloaths *A la Mode.*" These words occur in Flecknoe's prefatory matter, not in his translation of the French plays; surely they will convince the most skeptical that this "Italian Scæne with four Doors" was precisely what he expected the King's Theatre of 1667 to provide for his comedy. I now with greater confidence refer the reader once more to that "Noise at the Scene Door" in Mrs. Manley's Royal Mischief (1696). For the intervening years, the "sculptures" of The Empress of Morocco (1673) offer evidence of a now new significance; do not the scenes in the prison and on the "ganches" suggest "box" sets, without the ceiling? In fact, it would be but a step from the indicated solid walls of exterior perspectives, as represented in the cut for the opera Ariane (1674), to the apparently solid walls of a room in a palace. That this step was taken I believe on the testimony of Richard Flecknoe.

The reader, in opposition, may throw doubt on the reliability of the prints cited. In that case I offer some stage directions of the dramatists of the time. The first part of Mrs. Behn's Rover (Dorset Garden, 1677) calls (Act I, Scene 2) for "a long Street." This hardly sounds like a front "flat"; all doubt is removed by a direction in the course of the action: "Two men drest all over with Horns of several Sorts . . . . . advance from the farther end of the Scene." This, then, is a deep set; it might, of course, be constructed of back-flats and side-wings, representing houses. But what of a direction in Lee's Mithridates (Theatre Royal, 1678)? "The Scene being drawn, represents Ziphares's Triumph; which is a Street full of Pageants, crouded with People, who from the Windows fling down Garlands; Others dance before him, while the Priests sing; Ziphares resting under a Canopy of State."

Lee is, as usual with him, preparing a spectacle of imposing proportions. Can one believe that the windows in question were provided merely on wings of perfect flatness facing the audience? Would not the houses to which they belong have either two sides, or at least be painted side by side on a lateral wing of some length? Unless the



FRONTISPIECE TO THE OPERA OF ARIANE, 1674

"people throwing down garlands" were merely painted on the scenery! Rejecting this awful thought, in support of the former of my two suggestions, I refer to the illustration (1711) of The Humorous Lieutenant (page 294) which looks so like an attempt to reproduce primitive scenery; in support of the latter, to the illustrations already cited in my argument. The gist of that argument seems to be that for more elaborate sets, exterior or interior, the Restoration playhouse may not always have used, though it probably customarily did use, the monotonous regularity of back-flats and flat side-wings. A final word may assist. Orrery's Guzman (*circa* 1667–72) states that "the First Scene is a Piazza with Walks of Trees and Houses round about it." How does the reader visualise that "set"? That designs for Seventeenth-Century stages which have come down to us indicate no grooves for the placing of wings extending lengthwise from the back wall to the proscenium would in no way weaken a belief that such wings may have been used. Men familiar with provincial theatres in England and America in a not remote past assure me that it has never been the custom to employ such transverse grooves in setting up side walls; instead, use has been made of guys and props and clamps, with the assistance of the regular grooves, which are hinged to bend back and support the lateral set. Against the suggestion of Seventeenth-Century employment of something like "box" scenes is the undoubted Eighteenth-Century principle of back-flats and side-wings, as shown in the illustrations (Vol. II, page 86) the conservatism of the stage would almost preclude the idea that, having been used in the time of Betterton, such things should have been abandoned in the ages of Cibber and Garrick. Yet from the mass of evidence emerge the "slanting" scenes of Aaron Hill's letter to Garrick in 1749 and the side walls of the Haymarket picture of 1795, suggesting that the practice may have been indulged in, even if rarely, in the Eighteenth Century. Generally, so much of the acting took place on the apron that nothing more than back-flats, near the proscenium, with the assistance of

stage-door and balcony, was needed to indicate the room temporarily the scene of action; but if deeper, more elaborate effects were desired? Look again at the scenes from Ariane and The Empress of Morocco, and carefully weigh the words of Flecknoe.

DROP-SCENES

Flats and wings generally; lateral wings, possibly, though only occasionally: but we must not rashly assume that drop-scenes were never used. Inigo Jones had availed himself of one in Jonson's Masque of Beauty in 1608 ("here a curtain was drawn, in which the Night was painted . . . . an island floating on a calm water"). Though the Restoration stage employed them hardly at all, the magnificently equipped Dorset Garden at least was not likely entirely to overlook the device. Hence, in The Prophetess (1690) we come upon the interesting direction: "a Curtain falls representing the entrance into the inner part of a Magnificent Pallace. A noble Arch; behind it two Embroidered Curtains, part of the first ty'd up on either Side, the farthest Curtain hanging down. Figures of Diana, on each side of the Arch, standing on large Pedestalls." This curtain, obviously, is but a painted drop-scene, with arch, curtains, statues, etc., limned quite in the spirit of a Victorian act-drop. Lest the reader suspect it may have been such a drop, I hasten to assure him that it falls in the middle of a scene and is drawn up again before the close of that scene. Besides, Tate Wilkinson tells us that a drop-scene was generally in his day called a "curtain-scene"; in Sheffield, in 1782, one, with its great roller, nearly fell on the head of no less a person than Dora Jordan. That the 1690 curtain may have served once as a drop, however, I admit, since Act IV, Scene 1, of The Prophetess is described only as the "Great Curtain," which I take to be the one just noted as utilised in the middle of the first scene of Act III. Why the managers did not seize upon the easy suggestion of a painted drop-scene as a natural boundary to every act of every play, I cannot imagine; I would suggest that they

might have thought it necessary to have at every act-end a picture suitable to the play in progress, and not a confusing painting of arches, curtains, statues, etc., such as long afterwards was to be conventionalised into the permanent act-drop.

PROPERTIES

One other warning must be sounded. For elaborate spectacles, machines and properties of exceeding magnificence would be invented; but the reader must not expect to find evidence of any but the simplest and most necessary properties in the average stage productions of the period we are discussing. Only such furniture as the action demanded was exhibited on the stage. Ladies engaged in morning calls in all probability stood, or walked about, on the "apron" or "in one" before a mere pair of flats. All but the very young have seen such practices in country theatres in America. When, however, the action required properties, they could be displayed, in back-sets, by the withdrawing of the "flats"; if the scene was far forward, the properties were shoved on or brought on in view of the audience. Who cared?

Three illustrations from Dryden will serve to prove the perfectly obvious; others are found scattered through the text of this chapter. In The Rival Ladies (Theatre Royal, 1664), Act I, Scene 2, begins, "enter two Servants of Don Rodorick's, placing Chairs, and talking as they place them," on the "apron." In Act V, of the same play, by the drawing of the scene, the Captain's Cabin is discovered. "Rodorick on a Bed and two Servants by him." This, of course, was a set tableau; but at the end: "Bed draws in, *Exeunt.*" One can see the cord that pulled the couch; in fact, one has often seen it in these late days. A quaint direction distinguishes the beginning of the second act of Love Triumphant (Theatre Royal, 1693). "The Scene is a Bed-Chamber, a Couch prepar'd and set so near the Pit that the Audience may hear." That this was a front scene, with the couch shoved out on the "apron," I guess; otherwise, why the

direction about proximity to the pit? At least it was not a set tableau, because at the beginning Alphonso "enters with a Book." Much action occurs in the scene, and the second scene of the act is merely "a Street," easily provided as a pair of flats "in one"; but I incline to place this couch on "the apron"—shoved on, at that, in sight of the audience. Complete candour, however, forces the admission that no stage direction ever pulls that couch out of our historic vision. It may be that the scene of the street shut it in, and it was set as "near the pit" as that circumstance would allow.

THE MORE ELABORATE SETS AND DUMB SHOWS

That some of the sets in the depths of the stage were unusually elaborate, a reading of the plays will show. The mystic words—"the Scene draws [or "opens"] and discovers"—prepare us as by a magician's incantation for something really splendid. John Banks's Destruction of Troy, "acted at His Royal Highness the Duke's Theatre" (1679), has several such magnificent tableaux. In the third act, as Cassandra is going off, "the Scene opens, and discovers all the Grecian Princes, but Achilles on one side, and Priamus attended on the other side, sitting in state. Ulysses, Patroclus, and Menelaus arm'd for the Combat, come upon the Stage, and meet Andromache, Helen, and Polyxena going to take their Seats. Patroclus in the Armour of Achilles." That this elaborate picture—mostly human, not painted—was in the depths of the stage, we know, because, after a fight in which Patroclus is killed, "Andromache, Helen, and Polyxena, come upon the Stage," i. e., they come forward upon the "apron," and the scene soon after closes, "*manent* only the Women, and the Champions of both sides." Obviously, after the picture had made its due effect, it was shut out, and the actors were left free of scenic encumbrance, to act their parts far out in the theatre on the "apron" platform.

Frequently this tableau so ostentatiously presented was

nothing more than the equivalent of the Elizabethan "dumb-show," introduced apparently to convey necessary information to the spectators. For instance, John Banks's Cyrus the Great: or, the Tragedy of Love, "as it is Acted at the Theatre in Little-Lincoln's Inn-Fields," in 1696, begins the fifth act with a scene unspecified, but at length "Scene draws, and discovers a great Battle between both Armies: Cyrus, Balthazar, and Thomyris seen fighting at their Heads. Battle over, a Retreat is sounded. Scene shuts, and then Enter Cyrus, Crœsus, and Guards."

Sometimes the "dumb show" was exhibited at the very opening of the play. Ravenscroft's King Edgar and Alfreda (Theatre Royal, 1677) starts with a brave spectacle of a religious ceremony, finally shut out by a pair of flats representing the "body of the Church." The unusually specific directions speak for themselves:

ACT I. SCENE I

The Curtain drawn up, an Altar is discovered, Aldernald *giving* Alfreda *to* Ethelwold *in Marriage, an Abbot joining their hands, with Monks attending him.* Ruthin *looking and smiling. After a while the Scene closes. Then enters Lord* Ruthin *and a Servant.*

Scene *the Body of the Church.*

An almost similar device is at the beginning of Charles Saunders's Tamerlane the Great, produced at the same theatre in 1681.

Note that the characters in the tableau frequently figure at once in the next scene, which I take to have been painted on the flats that shut in the tableau. In other words, they come forward to the "apron" on which they so dearly loved to strut and fret their feeble hour that, quite apparently from the above directions and many like them elsewhere, it alone became to them the "stage." I do not know what they called the part shut out by the confining "flats"—perhaps the "house," since scene-directions for full stage refer so frequently to the full depth or height of the "house."

The "scene shuts," then, it will be noted. As Cyrus and Crœsus, in Banks's play, had been "on" just before the scene "drew," it is apparent that the battle was exactly what I have called it—"dumb show," that, at least, and spectacle. Soon again "Scene draws, and discovers Panthea with her Women weeping o're the mangled Body of Aradatas, whose Limbs she has seemingly fix'd to his Body, a Dagger in her hand." I beg the reader to believe that such tableau effects are incalculably frequent in the drama from 1660 to 1710. He will observe, however, that the greater proportion of them, as printed, call far more for the assistance of groups of people than for that of the scene-painter. This fact cannot be too often accentuated.

SCENES CHANGED WITH THE ACTORS ON THE STAGE

One ludicrous idiosyncrasy, inherent in the above practice, remains to be definitely stated—an inheritance from the Elizabethan stage. The change of scene thus laboriously described was, as the reader has observed, accomplished often while one or more of the characters on the stage at the end of the first, remained in view of the audience, and calmly assumed himself or themselves to be in the new scene merely by walking forward on the stage! Numberless instances of this practice will be revealed by a reading of the plays, but two or three will suffice. In Elkanah Settle's The Empress of Morocco, Act III, Scene 1, obviously played on the apron, is a "palace," probably front flats at the proscenium. After a speech by Muly Hamet, "the Scene opens [by drawing the flats, of course], and discovers Crimalhaz and Queen Mother, sleeping on a Couch, a Table standing by, with Crimalhaz' Plume of Feathers, and his Drawn Sword upon it." Muly Hamet now re-enters, the front flats having merely opened to let him in. After a speech of seventeen lines by Muly, the scene changes to an "Anti-chamber" (no doubt by closing in other flats on the bed-chamber scene), and in a few minutes we are back again, by drawing these flats, in the Queen Mother's room.

This is an excellent illustration of Restoration usage, and especially in leaving Muly Hamet in full view of the audience while he is supposed to go from one room to another. Furthermore, these flats frequently draw merely in answer to a knock given by one of the characters; they open, as if they were doors, and reveal a room within, though I can hardly believe that Seventeenth-Century auditors actually regarded them as doors, instead of scenery withdrawing for an entire change of scene. I refer the reader to Congreve's Love for Love (1695), in the fourth act of which Jeremy says, "I'll knock at the door," then "goes to the scene, which opens" for another set. Why may not a door have been painted on the back flat? and the whole scene open, to indicate that the characters had gone from one place to another? Or did the character, in similar cases, knock at the proscenium door, the flats, at such signal, sliding out of sight?

A very excellent illustration may be derived from the first scene of the fifth act of Mrs. Manley's Royal Mischief, acted at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1696. I am forced, for clearness' sake, to print the entire series of stage-directions, which run as follows:

> *The Royal Apartment in the Castle of Phasia, Homais is discover'd Bound: Then Enter Four Mutes, three with Bowstrings, the other with a Bowl of Poison; they rank themselves in dumb show, on one side the Stage.*

In the course of the scene:

> *He* [Prince of Libardian] *leads* Homais *to the Scene, which opens to her, then closes again; the Prince returns, signs away the Mutes, and* Exit. *Then a long alarm, repeated Shouts within, ... Enter* Homais *and* Acmat, *with Officers, Guards, and Soldiers.*

There we have both the scene opening, used almost as a door of entry, and the remaining of the character on the stage while this extraordinary procedure is in operation. Another woman, Mrs. Catharine (Trotter) Cockburn, gives

us a further hint as to this odd custom of the stage of Betterton. Her Fatal Friendship, played at "the New Theatre in Little Lincoln's-Inn-Fields" (1698), shows further details as to how the scene opened and swallowed one or more characters, leaving others to carry on the burden of the action. She specifies the scene that extrudes the previous one. And again I quote without cuts. The third scene of Act II is "a Prison." Castalio solus. To him, later, enters Gramont, later still, Bernardo, and last of all, a Soldier. Then the play proceeds:

Soldier. My Lord, I beg you'll retire to your Chamber,
The Governour will be return'd this minute
And must not know you have had this Liberty.
Cas. I thank thee, honest Soldier. Farewell my Friend.
Remember Death's the worst we have to fear.
And that whilst we unmov'd preserve our virtue,
Rather to be desir'd.
(Cas. *goes within the Scene,* Gra. *advances, a Scene shuts representing the outside of the Castle. Manet* Gramont.

Let us, even at the price of tedium, illustrate from two Shakespearian adaptations, the appositeness to our theme being apparent. The first is from Crowne's remodelling of the second part of Henry VI, his Humphrey Duke of Glocester (1681). It is the scene in which the Cardinal persuades the three murderers to despatch the Duke. The last line of the Cardinal's speech begins the excerpt:

Open the door, go to him, go, go, quickly.

The Scene is drawn, the Duke of Glocester *sitting and reading in his Night-Gown.*
Card. Ha! he's awake, and up; you two go hold him
And get him down, whilst the other strangles him.

Hence the scene was changed, the actors on the stage all the time. After the murder:

They place the Body in a Chair, shut the Scene, and Ex. Enter the King *and* Queen, *Attendants,*

Later the Cardinal enters. Finally

> *The Scene is drawn, and the Duke of* Glocester *is shewn dead in a Chair,*

the King, and all the rest remaining on the stage as before.

The second extract is from Cibber's Richard III (1700); a soliloquy by the tyrant is interrupted by apparently the only thing that could interrupt it—a scene that draws—and Richard, having watched the proceeding, let us hope with some interest, takes up the thread of his soliloquy where it was broken, and, nothing daunted, pursues it ruthlessly to its close. The wonder occurs in Act II, the scene being St. Paul's. In the course of his soliloquy, Glo'ster comes to my starting-lines:

> Ha! Edward taken ill!
> Wou'd he were wasted, Marrow, Bones, and all,
> That from his Loins no more young Brats may rise
> To cross me in the Golden Time I look for.
>
> *Scene draws and discovers Lady* Anne *in Mourning, Lord* Stanley, Tressel, Guards *and* Bearers, *with King* Henry's *Body.*
>
> But see! my Love appears— Look where she shines, etc.

This quaint way of doing things is not in Shakespeare's tragedies; in these cases the honour goes to Crowne and Cibber, respectively. The custom persisted till late in the Eighteenth Century; I can cite instances of it from Bell's acting edition of Romeo and Juliet, published in 1773.

STAGE TRAPS AND OTHER DEVICES

In our eagerness to enjoy spectacle, we must not, as imaginary visitors to the Restoration theatres, forget the more humble expedients of the stage mechanician. The playgoer of the time of the last Stuart kings dearly loved his ghost, and on the stage ghosts almost always rise and sink through the floor; just why, no one can reasonably say. To rise thus implies trap-doors, and we need not

seek far to discover that the theatres of Davenant and Killigrew were rather richly provided with these square means of entrance and exit. That blood-curdling first scene of the second act of The Indian Emperor (1665) is treasure-trove for our purposes. It seems to indicate many traps on the stage of the Theatre Royal. First, "an earthly Spirit rises," and, after a speech of dire prophecy, "descends." Almost immediately thereafter, "Kalib ascends all in white," and, after a song, likewise "descends." The second visitant might have come and departed by the same hole as the first; but note! "The Ghosts of Traxalla and Acacis arise, they stand still and point at Montezuma." These horriferous ones do not emerge from the same opening, I fancy, because they have hardly had time to arrange their ghostly draperies, before "the ghost of the Indian Queen rises betwixt the Ghosts with a Dagger in her Breast." There, I humbly submit, are three "traps" for one stage. Furthermore, I believe the "apron" also was torn with similar holes. The Prologue was spoken before the curtain, we know; and in the prologue to Lansdowne's Jew of Venice (1701), "the Ghosts of Shakespeare and Dryden Arise, Crown'd with Lawrel."

Some of these traps were large. In the last act of the gorgeous operatic spectacle, King Arthur (Dorset Garden, 1691), "the Scene opens, and discovers a calm Sea, to the end of the House. An Island arises, to a soft Tune; Britannia seated in the Island, with Fishermen at her Feet, &c. The Tune changes, the Fishermen come ashore," etc. This island must have required a large port of entry.

Equally spacious and well-equipped must have been the overhead regions of the stage, at least at Dorset Garden. In this same King Arthur, "Merlin [Act II, Scene 1] with Spirits descends to Philadel, on a Chariot drawn by Dragons." But what is this to the gorgeous machine that in The Prophetess of the year before, "descends, so large it fills all the Space, from the Frontispiece of the Stage to the farther end of the House; and fixes it self by two ladders of Clouds to the Floor"? The greater glories of this feat are

sung on page 149; but meantime we fasten to those two "ladders of Clouds" as our only visible means of support in descending from the skyey flies to the level of the stage floor. At any rate, I am impressed by the elaborateness of the mechanical appliances that alone could have rendered possible such imposing stage-effects. Of course it was to provide just such means of delight that Dorset Garden was built; before its construction, "machines" had but contracted space in which to operate.

THE QUESTION OF GREEN CARPET FOR TRAGEDY

I am unable to say just when came in the custom—"the solemn custom," as Clement Scott calls it—"of never playing tragedy at any theatre save on a green baize carpet." The reference in Sorbière, "le Théâtre est fort beau, couvert d'un Tapis verd," applies, it would seem, to the spaces in front of the stage, not, as was once thought, to the stage itself. A similar observation in Monconys, in the same year (1663), indubitably describes the auditorium, and thus corroborates the newer interpretation of Sorbière: "le Théâtre," says Monconys, "est le plus propre et le plus beau que j'aye jamais veu, tout tapissé par le bas de bayette verte." Mr. W. J. Lawrence, closing a former discussion, asserts that the green carpet or baize in question covered the benches of the pit; in fact, on second thought, one questions whether the floor of the main building in that early day was likely to be carpeted with "bayette" or anything else. In taking his position thus, as it were, on the benches, Mr. Lawrence rests heavily on the statement of a later traveller, Misson, who, in his Memoires et Observations Faites par Voyageur en Angleterre (1698), expressly declares, "le Parterre est en Amphithéatre, & rempli de bancs, sans dossiers, garnis & couverts d'une étofe verte." Dryden, in the prologue to Cleomenes (1692), mentions, it will be remembered, the "matted Seats" of the pit. What he means by "matted," I confess I do not know; somehow the term does not, to me, suggest "Tapis

verd," or "bayette verte," or "étofe verte." But these expressions are all buried in chronicles of a very remote past. At any rate, by 1709 the practice of covering the stage with green carpet must have become established; otherwise in that year the translator of Sorbière's book would hardly have rendered the Sorbière French "le Théâtre est fort beau, couvert d'un Tapis verd" by what seemed to him the English equivalent, "the Stage is very beautiful, being covered with green cloth," etc. The full proof lies in that error.

Whenever the custom came in, it persisted till the middle of the Nineteenth Century, and possibly later. Lamb, writing of Elliston, remarked humorously that "he carried about with him his pit, boxes, and galleries, and set up his portable playhouse at corners of streets, and in the market places. Upon flintiest pavements he trod the boards still; and if his theme chanced to be passionate, the green baize carpet of tragedy spontaneously rose beneath his feet."

THE USE OF THE CURTAIN

The discussion of change of scene during the progress of the play leads naturally to the very interesting but perplexing question as to the employment of the curtain. It is certain that the Elizabethan stage-manager made use of the curtains before the inner stage when the action passed from the propertied scene to the outer, more indefinite platform; but we have no reason to believe that the curtain in Restoration houses was usually dropped between scenes of an act, or, what is more astonishing, between the acts themselves. The very elaborate stage directions printed in the masques of Jonson, Shirley and Davenant—directions often written out by the inventor, Jones—call for the use of a curtain at the beginning, but clearly indicate that changes of scene throughout occurred in sight of the audience. Perhaps the glory of the designer was heightened by the clever devices by which he concealed from the noble audience the mechanical trickery involved; at any rate

devices were used—of noise and blinding light—to distract the attention of the spectators while the feat was accomplished. It is extraordinary that neither here nor on the Continent did any one think of the simple expedient of lowering the curtain. Hence the great interest attaching to the designs of Inigo Jones for Florimène and the Salmacida Spolia, showing a working device for the execution of such marvels of scene shifting.

The same policy, as we have seen, was handed on to Davenant and actuated his performances of opera in the cramped quarters of Rutland House and the Cockpit, just before the Restoration. The first part of The Siege of Rhodes (1656) calls for the rise of the curtain at the beginning, "the Curtain being drawn up"; and at the end we are informed that "the Curtain is let fall," but, all between, the acts or "entries" are prepared by "Instrumental Musick," and "the Scene is chang'd," apparently in sight of the audience. In The History of Sir Francis Drake and in The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru, the directions are even more specific and convincing. In the former, "the Curtain rises by degrees to an ascending Ayr" (a pun-like music, I take it), and in the case of both operas "the Curtain falls" at the end. But the author leaves no doubt as to the visibility of the scene-changes; the attention was distracted by music, though how that could have blinded an auditor I do not see. One quotation from each opera will show the practice. At the fourth entry of the Drake piece, "a wild Ayr by way of Symphony, prepares the change of the Scene: which having continu'd a while, the Scene is chang'd," etc. Or take this from The Cruelty of the Spaniards, even more convincing: "An Alman and Corante are play'd: after which a Trumpet Ayr changes the Scene: where a Fleet is discern'd at distance," etc. Furthermore, after the change occurred, as we have seen, the audience were given a certain amount of time in which to study the picture, before the action was resumed.

This evidence is conclusive as to Davenant's usage in 1656 and 1659; what reason is there for assuming that he

altered it two years later in inaugurating his great enterprise in Lincoln's Inn Fields? That he was not dropping the curtain between acts is proved, I think, conclusively, by the prologue to Thomas St. Serfe's Tarugo's Wiles, or the Coffee-House, printed in 1668, but acted for the first time, according to Pepys, on the 5th of October, 1667. This prologue, in the form of a dialogue between a Gentleman, a Player, and a Poet's Servant, is a highly important document and proves not only that the curtain did not drop between acts, but that the audience—like that of Elizabeth's time—still depended on rhymed tags to know when the act was finished. The passage from St. Serfe is so significant that I need not apologise for quoting it at length. After a discussion of the play to be produced, the talk between the three characters above mentioned proceeds as follows:

Gent. But tell me friend, without any more circumlocutions, what way is the Play drest?

P. Serv. What do you mean by that?

Gent. That's whether it be set off with Blank verse, Rhyme, or Prose.

P. Serv. My Master is no Arithmetician, and so defies all numerical composition.

Gent. This is the first Poet that ever I heard of, cou'd not make Verse; But how shall the Expectations of the Audience and the Musick be prepar'd at the ending of Acts.

P. Serv. I am appointed with an Engine to do that.

Gent. Which way?

P. Serv. This way.

[*The Poets man takes out a Rattle and whirles it about his Head.*

Play. 'Slife, I think this Prose Poets fancy will take; for if I be not mistaken, a Rattle will be better understood by a great many here then the best kind of Rhyme. [*Aside.*

[*The Gentleman takes the Rattle and whirles it about.*

Gent. I see no reason but this same Engine ought to alarum the Minstrills to tune their Fiddles, and advertise the Audience to refresh their hams as well as a couplet of Rhyme.

Play. But Sir, it may scare the Ladies from eating their fruit.

This seems to me a pretty piece of evidence, and I rejoice at finding it. Obviously, if the curtain fell between acts, neither rhyme nor rattle would be needed to apprise the

audience that they could now "refresh their hams" (or stretch their legs) during the intermission. But without St. Serfe's prologue we should not lack circumstantial evidence. The frequency with which, during the entire period, 1660–1710, and indeed beyond, occur, at the beginning of acts, the words, "scene opens," or "scene draws," would lead to the opposite idea of "scene closes," or, in other words, to the conception of flats that had shut in on the last scene of the preceding act or had formed the background of the scene. Dryden and Howard's Indian Queen (1665), for example, begins Act IV, Scene 1, with "the Scene opens, and discovers Montezuma in Prison." Act V, Scene 1, is more elaborate in setting: "The Scene opens and discovers the Temple of the Sun all of Gold," etc.

This sort of introduction to acts is familiar in the age of Betterton; since exactly the same phrasing is used for shifts of scenery in the bodies of scenes, when the "scene draws and discovers" something more elaborately staged, why may we not infer that the same words indicate a like practice at the beginning of acts? In other words, a pair of "flats" and not a curtain divided act from act. While one would not force the issue too far on the evidence of three words—"the scene draws"—one may venture to rely almost infallibly on a modification of them in Mrs. Behn—an author to whom modern research must remain incalculably indebted. In her City Heiress, produced at Dorset Garden in 1681 (Genest) or 1682 (Montague Summers), occurs a (to me) clinching statement. Act IV, Scene 1, opens thus: "A Dressing Room. Lady Galliard is discover'd in an Undress at her Table, Glass, and Toilette, Closet attending: As soon as the Scene draws off, she rises from the Table as disturbed and out of Humour."

As soon as the Scene draws off: What more could one ask? The scene that thus disappeared was no doubt a front flat of a room—the set of the preceding act; much business is carried on in that act, of dancing, singing, drinking, etc., but it was all probably accomplished on the apron, as I gather from stage directions such as, "Leads

her to the Door"—the proscenium door, I take it; or "Enter Bottles and Glasses" and presumably the drinking Table toward which the men go in course of the action. If the set had been a deeper one, probably the bottles and glasses would have been placed before "the scene drew" on that picture. This way of doing things was an inheritance from the Elizabethan Age. It may be, also, that the scene-curtains before the Elizabethan inner-stage, curtains which were drawn, not dropped, were felt, in Betterton's day, to be represented by painted scenes which also were drawn, not dropped. Besides, the "apron" extended so far into the auditorium that a curtain, far back at the proscenium, may not have been acutely felt as a boundary between the real and the mimic world. There was always, during the intermission, the visible neutral territory of the "apron" itself. For this suggestion I am indebted to Professor Ashley H. Thorndike.

That the curtain was not dropping between acts in 1693 is proved, I think, by John Dennis, a rather wearisome soul, to whom one is surprised to be indebted for anything really useful. In the fifth dialogue of his Impartial Critick, published in that year, Beaumont and Freeman argue on the question of the Chorus in tragedy. In the conversation, which I quote at length, we learn positively that at the end of acts the stage was left bare (no curtain falling, obviously), and that the place of the actors was taken by fiddlers for the *entr'acte* music. This is the best direct evidence I have seen on the disputed question of the use of the curtain. The interlocutors must tell the story. Beaumont quotes the authority of their friend Wild:

Beaum. A Tragedy, said he [Wild], is the imitation of an Action, which must be one and entire; and therefore there must be a Chorus: For without it the Acts can never be joyn'd, there will be a solution of continuity, and Tragedy can never be one entire Body.

Freem. . . . . . Then Mr. *Wild* and you fancy that the Action breaks off every time that the Musick plays between the Acts?

Beaum. That is Mr. *Wild's* opinion.

Freem. But then I could tell you that the Action is suppos'd to be continued behind the Scenes.

Beaum. How can the Audience be sure of that? Or when the Stage is left empty upon the end of the First Act, what grounds has a Company to believe the Actors will return? What grounds, I say, can they have but Custom? . . . . Whereas a Chorus naturally keeps the Company together, till the return of the principal Actors.

. . . . . .

Beaum. You say the Song of the Chorus is very absurd and unnatural; but are not the Fiddles between the Acts a great deal more absurd and unnatural? . . . Is it probable that *Oedipus* or any other Prince should four times in the height and fury of his Passion leave the Scene of Action purely to give leave to a Company of Musitians to divert the Spectators four times, least they should be too much shaken by the progress of the terrible Action? . . .

Finally Mrs. Behn shall help me once more. By a kind of obverse of the *lucus-a-non-lucendo*, she shows that the curtain was not generally used by showing that sometimes it actually was used. The second act of her Forc'd Marriage, produced at Dorset Garden in 1670 (Montague Summers), opens with a very elaborate tableau preceded and concluded by the rise and fall of the curtain. This I reproduce verbatim, from the edition of 1688:

ACT II

THE REPRESENTATION OF THE WEDDING

The Curtain must be let down; and soft Musick must play: the Curtain being drawn up, discovers a Scene of a Temple: The King sitting on a Throne, bowing down to joyn the Hands of Alcippus *and* Erminia, *who kneel on the steps of the Throne; the Officers of the Court and the Clergy standing in order by, with* Orgulius. *This within the Scene.*

Without on the Stage, Philander *with his Sword half-drawn, held by* Gallatea, *who looks ever on* Alcippus. Erminia *still fixing her eyes on* Philander; Pisaro *passionately gazing on* Gallatea: Aminth *on* Fallatio, *and he on her;* Alcander, Isilia, Cleontius, *in other several postures, with the rest; all remaining without motion, whilst the Musick softly plays; this continues a while till the Curtain falls; and then the Musick plays aloud till the Act begins.*

ACT I. SCENE I

Enter Philander *and* Gallatea *inrag'd.*

The most interesting thing about this direction is the expression *must be* in the sentence, "the Curtain must be let down." Of course, if the curtain fell at the end of every act of a play, it would be absurdly supererogatory to tell the prompter that he *must* do what he always did, anyway.

Why did Mrs. Behn wish the curtain to be lowered in order to prepare for this elaborate picture, and why did it fall at the close? It is clear that the very elaborateness was the cause, and that more than ordinary methods were required for the arranging and clearing away of the spectacle. Just why front flats would not suffice I cannot say, especially in view of the fact that very splendid tableaux were frequently preceded and ended respectively—as we have seen—by the magical words "scene draws" and "scene shuts." Possibly the tableau was to fill even that groove in which a set of flats could be run. Whatever the cause, the curtain fell and rose and fell again in Betterton's time whenever an especially gorgeous tableau was formed and in turn disintegrated. And it fell, I am convinced, then, and only then in the course of the play. I can recall but a few instances in a rather extended research through the plays of the fifty years of Betterton; there are more, no doubt, but at best they are so few as to form the exception that proves the rule I am trying to establish.

Very early instances of such use of the curtain occur in the Henry V and The Black Prince of Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery. The first of these Pepys saw on August 13, 1664, the second on October 19, 1667. The first begins its fourth act with the words, "the Curtain being drawn up," the second not only begins its second act with the same words, but ends the first act with the unusual and significant words, "the Curtain falls." Both the tableaux thus imposingly introduced I leave for later discussion. By itself

I must refer to a second instance of the use of the curtain in Henry V. Far on in the last act we are again told that "the Curtain falls. Two Heralds appear opposite to each other, in the Balconies near the Stage." (*Query :* the stage-balconies over the proscenium doors?) After proclamations filling more than a printed page, "the Curtain is drawn up." Then follows a description of the tableau of royal personages, introduced for good measure by "the Curtain being lifted up." This all strikes me as a rather pretty device.

Other Seventeenth-Century plays in which the curtain was utilised are Caryll's English Princess, printed in 1674, though probably seen by Pepys on March 7, 1666–67; Sir Robert Howard's Surprisal, seen by the diarist on April 8, 1667; Mrs. Behn's Young King (1679); Mrs. Manley's Royal Mischief (1696), and Motteux's adaptation of The Island Princess (1699). Mrs. Behn's third act begins with the satisfactory information, "the Curtain is let down—being drawn up discovers," etc. Mrs. Manley's picture was a rather unusual one for such circumstances, in that it demanded more of the scene-painter and the dispenser of light than of supernumeraries. Since, however, these tableaux revealed by the rising curtain are usually very similar in their spectacular elaborateness, I shall rest upon that of The Forc'd Marriage (just quoted).

An interesting prompter's direction, probably inadvertently, has slipped into the printing of Sir Charles Sedley's Mulberry Garden (in the edition of 1675). At the very end of Act I we find

Ring.
Exeunt Diana *and* Althea *separately.*

I give this for what it is worth; it may have been, as it would be to-day, a signal to ring down the curtain, or, equally well, it may have given notice to run on the flats.

Elkanah Settle's Cambyses (1666–67) ends the third act with "the Curtain Falls," but is unique in my experience in not beginning the next act with directions for raising the

curtain. Instead, the elaborate mummery presented, though it required great preparation and necessitated the fall of the curtain, nevertheless is introduced in the text not by the usual formula, "Curtain rises and discovers," but by "the Scene drawn, Cambyses is discover'd." It seems to be the exception that proves the rule, all similar cases being introduced by the rising of the curtain. This one alone cannot change my idea of the usual meaning of "scene draws."

Perhaps the reader will be best convinced by a careful study of Buckingham's Rehearsal (1671). This clever farce became a model for countless imitations, extending throughout the Eighteenth Century, down to Sheridan's Critic (1779), and was among the first productions to set bodily before an audience stage conditions of the time. When actors begin to jest about their profession, we may be sure they will reveal many a secret of the playhouse. What then does The Rehearsal show? Smith and Johnson attend a rehearsal of Bayes's tragedy, and as audience on the "apron" watch and discuss the play visible to the real audience in the theatre. The author and his friends, let me repeat, are far out on the platform, while the mock-play is enacted back, toward, or sometimes behind, the proscenium-frame. The scenes, then, must be manipulated in sight of the mock-audience on the "apron," and of the real audience in pit, boxes and gallery. Hence I would stress the care displayed by Buckingham to get his actors "off" at the ends of acts. If the curtain fell, no such pains would be necessary. In the first act of the burlesque, only the prologue and the epilogue to the tragedy are rehearsed; and now, "Come, come," says Bayes; "begin the Play." But Mr. Ivory, the actor, "is not come yet," and Bayes gets Smith and Johnson off with, "let's go out and take a pipe of Tobacco." They then *exeunt;* evidently no curtain shut off their retreat. Shortly after the beginning of Act II, the officious Bayes tells them to "take" their "seats" on the apron, and orders the play to proceed. At the end of this act, Bayes having departed, his friends

wonder at his delay in returning. They speculate as to what he can be doing, and "pr'y thee let's go see," suggests Johnson; whereupon again they *exeunt*. Examine also the plays of Dryden, Shadwell and their contemporaries to note the extreme pains with which, at act-ends, they clear the stage of performers. I pass to the close of the fourth act of The Rehearsal. Bayes and his friends as usual depart, this time for "a pot of Ale"—always there is an elaborate excuse, it will be observed, to get them off the stage. But here, probably to the surprise of the real audience of 1671, and to the reader's, to-day, Bayes's last exit-words are, "So, now let down the Curtain."

And why did he want it let down? His very first words, as he enters, at the beginning of Act V, will show without the slightest doubt: "Now, Gentlemen," he boasts, in his entrance-speech, "I will be bold to say, I'l shew you the greatest Scene that ever *England* saw: I mean not for words, for those I do not value; but for state, shew, and magnificence. In fine, I'l justifie it to be as grand to the eye every whit, I gad, as that great Scene in Harry the Eight, and grander too, I gad; for, instead of two Bishops, I have brought in two other Cardinals." Thereupon "The Curtain is drawn up, and the two usurping Kings appear in State, with the four Cardinals, Prince Pretty-man, Prince Volscius, Amarillis, Cloris, Parthenope, &c. before them, Heralds and Serjeants at Arms with Maces."

In other words, the curtain descended, as usual, when an elaborate group-tableau had to be formed; it rose on such a picture at the beginning of an act, rather than—as with us—fell upon it at the close. How could a tableau be formed, if the actors were obliged to walk off? I rest heavily on this evidence of The Rehearsal for stage custom in 1671 as to the use and non-use of the curtain between acts of plays.

Similarly, the Earl of Orrery's Herod the Great, printed in 1694, but never acted, is also very conclusive as to the non-use of an *entr'acte* curtain; evidence is found in the directions for clearing the stage at act-ends. At the very

close of Act I, we read: "Antip[ater] goes out at the Door he entred"; at the conclusion of Act III, "they all go out, the Guards bearing off Sohemus's Body." Better still, Act IV ends with the words, "they all go out, Asdrubal leading the Queen within the Scenes." Does the reader require further proof? He has it in the very last words of the play, at the finale of the last act—"the Curtain falls"; no "going out," mind you, or "exit"—all was over, and of course the curtain fell. Two others of Orrery's plays end with these same magic words: The Black Prince (1667) and Tryphon (1668).

The finality of the dropping curtain seems to me to be indicated at the end of Banks's Cyrus the Great (1696). Part of the last page shall be reproduced for elucidation; the stage is cleared of all the dramatis personæ, and the epilogue follows:

Exeunt Omnes.

EPILOGUE

Spoken by the *Boy* and *Girl* by way of Dialogue.

Curtain falls

Girl. Hold, hold, is the Play done?
Boy. Ay, pretty Rogue.
Girl. What a New Play without an Epilogue?

. . . . . .

Why, what d' you make of Mr. *Betterton?*
Boy. The Curtain's dropt, and he's glad he's gone, etc.

That the act may have been concluded by the shutting in of flats that were to constitute the back-ground of the opening scene of the following act, we surmise from a study of stage directions in John Caryll's The English Princess (1674). Act III of this play ends, "the Scene is Changed to the Princess Lodging," the next act beginning, "Actus Quartus, Scen. Prima," with, of course, no repetition of the locality. Did the audience, during the intermission, face this set of the lodgings, or was the direction meant for the prompter or scene-shifter alone? In any case, no curtain screened the stage, as it did at the end of Act II, where we are succinctly informed that "the Curtain falls,"—as usual to prepare for elaborate stage effects. Throughout Act IV,

we may note, the description of scenery is printed at the end of scenes, not before the following episode actually requiring that setting.

I have carried the history down to the beginning of the Eighteenth Century. That this custom of keeping up the curtain during the performance persisted throughout our period, that is, to 1710, I venture to suggest, in view of the evidence supplied by lines in the prologue to Cibber's She Wou'd and She Wou'dn't, produced at Drury Lane in 1702. Cibber is pluming himself on the observance of the unities in his play, and boasts

> His Action's in the Time of Acting done,
> No more than from the Curtain up and down.
> While the first *Musick* plays, he moves his Scene
> A little space, but never shifts again.

I humbly submit that the first two lines imply a usage such as I have described; but even better proof is furnished by Cibber in the speech of one of the characters in The Comical Lovers (1707). The description of the departure of two lovers from the stage through the proscenium doors (with the dull sense of act-end vacuity fronting the audience from the stage-spaces) is all we need of corroborative testimony for the year 1707:

> So have I seen in tragick scenes, a lover
> With dying eyes his parting pains discover,
> While the soft Nymph looks back to view him far,
> And speaks her anguish with her Handkercher.
> Again they turn, still ogling as before,
> Till each gets backward to the distant Door,
> Then, when the last, last look their grief betrays,
> The act is ended, and the Musick plays.

In this connection, I refer the reader to the significant close of The English Mounsieur (1674): "*Exeunt* Welbred at one door and Women at another." This is at the end of Act IV.

Cibber brings us within three years of the end of our period, and indicates for the close a custom similar to that

of the earlier years. The only possible evidence to the contrary is now to be cited. Some lines at the conclusion of the ballad epilogue to Davenant's The Man's the Master (1668) might seem to imply a curtain falling between acts; Mr. Lowe refers to them as proving that "between the acts of the play a certain amount of promenading on the stage went on" by the fops. If so, the lines would also seem to prove that the curtain was down. But to me they have an entirely different meaning and seem to refer specifically to the time preceding the beginning of the performance. The epilogue rails at the fops who pay "Half-Crowns of Brass [not silver] to our Box"; or those who take advantage of the law allowing them to enter gratis, if they do not stay, but who do stay and "steal five times" —for five successive days—"an Act in a day"; and those, finally, who, as I take it, parade, after entrance, up and down Fop Alley [apparently on the stage]:

> For they make our Guards quail,
> And 'twixt Curtain and Rail
> Oft combing their hair, they walk in Fop-Alley.

People, to secure good places, went very, very early to the play; what more natural than to assume that the fops also were on hand betimes, to show off by parading on the stage, in the space "between curtain [or proscenium-arch] and rail" [the "spikes" at the edge of the stage]—that is, on the "apron"? This, at least, is my interpretation of the passage, and to me the lines do not in any way impugn the accumulated evidence in favour of the curtain's remaining raised between the acts.

We may reasonably accept the conclusion here arrived at because a similar custom prevailed in the Paris theatres. According to M. Bapst, all changes of scene were accomplished "à la vue du public"; in fact "le luxe de la mise en scène consistait dans les changemens à vue." He tells us —though the evidence of d'Aubignac forces a slight modification—that it was not till 1828, at the premiere of Guillaume Tell, that the curtain fell at all the *entr'actes*. Assur-

edly the age of Betterton was not venturing to differ, in such convention, from the Parisian theatre to which it owed so much. We must admit, however, that M. Bapst indicates a different usage for country theatres in France; in these, "pour simplifier l'exécution," the curtain fell at each act.

LIGHTING

The reference to so much scenery and stage-effect naturally leads to a consideration of that essential adjunct—lighting. How in the days of such primitive methods of illumination were the scenes made to carry their message to the audience? In the masques of the Court of Charles I the devices employed by Inigo Jones to give proper value to his efforts involved the use of direct and indirect radiation. Doubtless the theatres of Killigrew and Davenant attempted similar illusion, but must, from mere lack of money, have fallen far short of those historic splendours. What then was done in this important field?

The earliest pictorial representation we have is that of the mis-called Stage of the Red Bull Theatre, prefixed to Kirkman's Wits, or Sport upon Sport, published in 1672, and embracing the characters involved in the drolls included in the volume. The print shows two chandeliers suspended on wires or chains from the ceiling. This fits in admirably with what we know of Eighteenth-Century usage, and one embraces the apparent authenticity of the suggestion. On the strength of this print Malone asserted that candelabra were usually hung over the Restoration stage, and Lowe in his Life of Betterton—I know not on what authority—positively states that "at this time the stage was lighted from above, by branches or hoops of candles suspended from the ceiling." The first scene of The Empress of Morocco, it will be observed, has a lantern swinging from above, possibly a conscientious artist's substitute for the branch of candles that may have lighted the actual set on the stage.

The easy hint of the "palpable" footlights portrayed in

the scene from Kirkman's Wits has been largely ignored by stage historians, chiefly, I believe, because they have so blindly accepted the tradition that such means of illuminating were introduced by Garrick on his return from France in 1765. We shall see that footlights were in use in 1735; and there is nothing against believing they were employed before that. It is not, indeed, inconceivable that they had been a regular feature even since 1672, the date of the Kirkman print. I wish I had proof to offer on one side or the other. Failing this, I can only refer to the indubitable use of footlights in the French theatre *circa* 1640–50. The question is treated fully by M. Bapst, who assures us: "Au Palais-Royal, Molière avait sur la scene 12 lustres à 10 chandelles chacun, et la rampe [footlights] se composait de 48 chandelles." If the English adopted the lustres, why not the "rampe" or "float"? It is to me almost inconceivable that they did not, especially after Betterton's journey to Paris for hints, prior to the opening of Dorset Garden Theatre.

At any rate, however it was done, the lighting seems to have satisfied the people of the time. Magalotti in 1669, as we have seen, found the King's Theatre "sufficiently lighted on the stage and on the walls to enable the spectators to see the scenes." Killigrew, on February 12, 1666–67, expatiates to Pepys on what he has done for the improvement of things theatrical. "That the stage is now by his pains a thousand times more glorious than ever heretofore. Now wax candles and many of them; then not above 3 lb. of tallow." This is the stage, mind you, not the theatre as a whole, and therefore of interest to our discussion. Poor Pepys, as blindness came on, ceased going to the play because the lights so hurt his eyes; these lights, I should infer, must have been on the stage, since it would be toward them he would be most attentively looking. On April 14, 1669, he records, after a visit to the Duke's House, "it is with great trouble that I now see a play, because of my eyes, the light of the candles making it very troublesome to me." The only dissentient voice is Richard Flecknoe's;

FRONTISPIECE TO THE WITS, 1672

in 1664, he states that we have not yet learned "how to place our Lights for the more advantage and illuminating of the Scenes."

Probably the "apron" assisted very materially in the lighting. With the actor so far forward in the auditorium, the candles in the theatre would serve to throw sufficient light on the part of the stage most in use. Obviously the illumination of the house itself could not be dimmed or shut off by a switch, and, whatever the demands of the plot, the fore-stage was confronted by the unvarying light which bathed the spectators in pit, boxes and gallery. Hence anything like darkness was impossible on the "apron" at least, and no marked change of light—even if footlights were in use and able to be lowered as in the Garrick time—was possible on that forward-reaching platform. This is obviously in Cibber's mind when he so lovingly recalls the advantages of the stage of the Theatre Royal in the twenty years following its opening in 1674. The stage's projecting so many feet "forwarder," it will be remembered, gave many advantages to scenery and actors, the latter of whom "are kept so much more backward from the main Audience than they us'd to be: But when the Actors were in Possession of that forwarder Space to advance upon, ... all Objects were thus drawn nearer to the Sense; every painted Scene was stronger; every grand Scene and Dance more extended; every rich or fine-coloured Habit had a more lively Lustre: Nor was the minutest Motion of a Feature (properly changing with the Passion or Humour it suited) ever lost, as they frequently must be in the Obscurity of too great a Distance."

A reading between the lines will show, I believe, that Cibber is thinking of two things. In former days the actor could be better seen on the old forward platform, and the scenes were more plainly visible, and every costume showed up better because nearer and lighted by the house-lights; now, the actor loses his best effects and the scenery and costumes are rendered more dingy and less effective "in the obscurity of too great a distance." If he had lived in the

days of electric light, or even of gas, poor Cibber would not have been thus forced to lament the glory of a bygone nearness to a candle-lighted audience-room.

I confess, however, that it is not how the stage was lighted, but how it was darkened, that most interests me. It may be assumed that the public will demand and receive as much light as it needs; but how a great many candles can be put out or at least made invisible in a moment is a more serious problem. In this case it is literally not so easy to destroy as to provide light. Sabbatini had a system of lowering and raising black shades before his lights, but I can hardly imagine that the stage-mechanicians of Davenant's time habitually used such a device. How, then, was the illusion of darkness produced in the Restoration scene?

That it was produced, we learn from the testimony of stage-directions quoted throughout this essay, as, for instance, in the first scene of Shadwell's Tempest, "when the Ship is sinking, the whole House [stage?] is darken'd, and a shower of Fire falls upon 'em." This might, conceivably, be but the substance of things hoped for, not attainable; positive proof, however, is found in a pamphlet of 1691, entitled Wit for Money, or Poet Stutter. A Dialogue between Smith, Johnson and Poet Stutter. In course of the talk the poet maintains stoutly that his play is the equal of any:

Stutter: As for *Plot,* Sir, I'll not yield it to any Poet or Politician; and there's my *Plotting Sisters* for one, which I'll match, with any Play in *Europe:* Either *She wou'd if she cou'd, Squire of Alsatia, Soldiers Fortune;* or any other—

Smith: So you may indeed, the putting out of Candles, changing of Gowns; Tables and Traps are well enough imagined.

We may take the word of Smith for it, then, that the candles were put out; the question once more arises—how?

I believe that the process was greatly helped by the principle of alternating scenes already described. Whether or not lighted by hoops or branches suspended from above,

the stage must have been lighted somehow, and by candles; and if it was to be made dark, those candles must be put out or removed; hence the need for that official so derided and applauded by Eighteenth-Century audiences—the candle-snuffer. It can hardly be expected that this individual —or several such—should be allowed to come on and put out many candles in sight of the audience, especially between the scenes of an act or in the scene itself. Of course this might be done, but I doubt it. Instead, when the scene was a deeper one, this operation was probably performed behind the front-scene flats, before which the preceding scene was in course of action. The flats could then be drawn on a "night-scene," as it is often called in Dryden's plays, of a garden, a large room, any location you please. When the "dark" scene was enacted on the "apron," as it frequently was, I do not believe it could be made dark at all; the lights in the auditorium, as we have seen, would preclude the possibility of such a thing.

A reference to Pepys will convince of this. On February 2, 1668–69, he "carried" Mr. Sheres "with us to the King's Playhouse, where The Heyresse, notwithstanding Kinaston's being beaten, is acted . . . . But his part is done by Beeston, who is fain to read it. . . . But it was pleasant to see Beeston come in with others, supposing it to be dark, and yet he is forced to read his part by the light of the candles; and this I observing to a gentleman that sat by me, he was mightily pleased therewith, and spread it up and down." It would be like Pepys, with his keen eye for detail, to note the incongruity of an actor's reading his part by candle-light in a scene presumably dark; but no one else, apparently, observed the absurdity. In other words, spectators were, I take it, used in 1668 to dark scenes that were really not dark at all—the conventions of the stage, once accepted, never worry us again—and it needed a Pepys maliciously to call the inconsistency to their attention. The play of The Heiress is unfortunately not extant, and we cannot, therefore, turn to it to identify the "dark" scene, to decide whether it was acted "back" or on the

"apron"; but it is sufficient to know that it allowed an actor to read "by the light of the candles."

Of course on the stage complete darkness or anything approximating thereto is not desired; but something suggesting it is necessary for scenes of nocturnal confusion such as those with which Restoration comedy abounds. It is therefore interesting to note the stress laid on all natural means of lighting such dark situations; the stage directions are so specific that they demand somewhat detailed account. Perhaps darkness was actually represented by lights carried on a stage in no wise dark.

Mrs. Behn's Roundheads, or the Good Old Cause (Dorset Garden, 1682) shows how important were the adjuncts of lights brought in by the characters; the actors had to play at least, that they could not see without them. In this instance Lady Lambert, after the lights are upset, calls wildly for light, and is probably consoled by the entrance of the Page. The directions follow:

> *Flat Scene draws off, discovers* L. Lam. *on a Couch, with* Loveless, *tying a rich Diamond Bracelet about his Arm: a Table behind with Lights, on which a Velvet Cushion, with a Crown and Scepter cover'd.*

Later in the scene occurs this direction:

> Lov. *rolls off, and turns* Lam. *over, the rest of the Men run out crying Treason, Treason, overthrowing the Lights, putting 'em out.*

L. Lambert. Treason, Treason! My Lord, my Lord!
Lam. Lights there, a Plot, a Popish Plot, Lights!

Soon: "Enter Page with Lights."

Cibber's Love Makes a Man (Drury Lane, 1701) is a perfect coruscation of successive lights adventitiously supplied. In the second scene of Act III—a Street—"Enter a Servant hastily with a Flambeau"; in the next—a Chamber—"Enter Elvira and her Servants with Lights." Today the first servant would depend on a stage light, and Elvira would turn an electric switch by her chamber door. In Act IV, Scene 2, the scene changes to Louisa's House,

and in due course, "Enter Jaques, and Servants with a Banquet, Wine and Lights." Soon the scene changes to another room—"Angelina, with a Light." In Act V "Elvira is discover'd alone in Mourning, a Lamp by her."

On the stage of the public theatres of the Elizabethan Age, open as they were to the light of day, these various portable lights could have been used only to suggest darkness. It may, therefore, be that in the Restoration playhouses they served the same purpose. A reading of Mrs. Behn's plays, in particular, would almost convince one of this. But, after all, deductions of exactly opposite significance might be drawn; and I, for one, cannot but believe that, as I have said, many of the stage-lights—for deeper scenes—were extinguished or removed while these portable lights aided to throw the scene in the proper degree of obscurity or the reverse. The best instance of this occurs in the third scene of the fourth act of Nicholas Rowe's Ambitious Stepmother (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1700). The manipulation of Cleone's "lanthorn" is so interesting that I venture to print the scene entire. If the scene—a back-set—were managed half so well as Rowe's imagination pictured it, it was impressive indeed, and worthy the effort of our best modern stage-craftsman. The question is, of course, as to how much light there was in the night-scene of the Temple, and how far Cleone's lantern "threw his beams." Despite Portia, a candle cannot light a large, dark stage. The very expression "Night Scene" invites. It is used frequently in the plays, especially Dryden's. Does it mean that the theatre scene-room was provided with darkly painted canvases for such calls? Actors with whom I have spoken doubt this; yet the phrase haunts one with its possibilities. Years later, we find such things at Covent Garden Theatre. But to return to Rowe:

Scene III. *A Night-Scene of the Temple of the Sun.*

. . . . . .

Enter Cleone *with a dark Lanthorn and Key.*

Cleone. This Way the echoing Accents seem to come:
Sure 'tis the wretched Prince! Oh can you hear him,
And yet refuse to lend your Aid, ye Gods?

Artaxerxes. This Gloom of horrid Night suits well my Soul,
Love, Sorrow, conscious Worth, and Indignation
Stir mad Confusion in my lab'ring Breast,
And I am all o'er Chaos.
Cleone. Is this, alas!
The State of *Artaxerxes*, Persia's Heir?
Not one poor Lamp to cheer the dismal Shade
Of this huge holy Dungeon! Slaves, Murderers,
Villains that Crosses wait for, are not us'd thus:
I'll shew myself.
(*She turns the Light, and comes towards* Artaxerxes *and* Memnon.)
Memnon. Ha! whence this Gleam of Light?
Artaxerxes. Fate is at hand, let's haste to bid it welcome,
It brings an end of Wretchedness.

After a while Cleone stabs herself—subsequently dies.

Artaxerxes. Hold up the Light, my Father: Ha! she swoons!
The iron-hand of Death is on her Beauties,
And see, like Lilies, nipp'd with Frost, they languish, etc.

Lest the reader accuse me of unfairness in quoting from plays so far toward the end of our period, when lighting as well as everything else had no doubt improved, I refer him to two plays of an earlier date. In Thomas Porter's The Villain, which Pepys saw several times, and with varying liking for it, between October 20, 1662, and October 24, 1667, we find in Act IV a Garden scene, in which occurs a fight. Immediately "Enter two or three Servants with Lights and Swords," and a minute or two later, "Enter Brisac half unready, Servant with a Light." All this sounds exactly like end-of-the-century usage. In Tuke's Adventures of Five Hours, which Pepys saw on January 8, 1662–63, at the Duke's House, and beside which on August 20, 1666, he honestly confesses that Othello seems to him "a mean thing," there is, at the beginning of Act V, a good deal of darkness and a very little light. At first—the scene is Don Carlos's house—several people enter, "groping in the dark." They knock at the door, and "Pedro unlocks it on the other side, and coming in with a Candle, meets with Octavio, and starting back and stumbling, lets the Candle fall, then run-

ning out again, double locks the Door." Diego picks up the candle, and begs Flora to "blow't in again," that is, blow its still unextinguished spark into a flame. This Flora successfully accomplishes. Was there any other light on the stage meanwhile?

A glance at the illustration of the prison scene of The Empress of Morocco brings unexpected help. In the "sculpture" the lantern, it will be observed, hangs from the roof by a rope or chain that obviously runs over a wheel and stretches to the side wall of the room, to which it is attached. This lantern can assuredly be lowered and raised at will; it could be lowered to the floor; could it be raised out of sight into the flies? Above all, could the real branches or hoops of candles above the stage be so lifted out of sight of the audience, far up to the 1673 equivalent of the "gridiron," or perhaps be pulled by the rope or chain indicated in the picture out into the wings? If so, the problem of darkening the stage was easily solved; the question that has perplexed us is, in such event, answered. In other words, the stage was darkened, when necessary, by the actual removal of the lights; they came and went by the manipulation of a pulley. This seems, according to Tate Wilkinson (page 405), to have been true in 1758; the picture in question makes us believe it was true in the age of Betterton. Besides, M. Bapst assures us that in Paris, toward 1650, the same practice began: "apparurent les lustres en cristal découpé pendant devant la scène; ils descendaient et remontaient à volonté."

Led on by this hint, let us re-examine some of the Restoration plays. The first scene of Shadwell's Tempest now sheds unexpected light in darkness. It will be remembered that this episode—the storm and the sinking of the ship—calls for the "whole House [i. e., rear-stage] darken'd," with a "shower of Fire . . . Lightning, and several Claps of Thunder." But note carefully: "In the midst of the Shower of Fire the Scene changes. The Cloudy Sky, Rocks and Sea vanish, and *when the Lights return*, discover that Beautiful part of the Island," etc.

It will be easy enough to see how the cloudy sky, the

rocks and sea vanished; "cloudings" and "flats" were pulled off. But how was the stage darkened? By the shutting in of these same "flats"? Possibly. But why not by the removal of hanging candle-fixtures? At any rate, how did the lights "return"? Was not this a literal rather than a figurative expression? How could lights "return" in 1674? By being brought back, I should suppose; certainly not by electric switches or any such mechanical device of our day and assuredly not by the aid of "candle-snuffers." This last would have been too ridiculous, not only for a man of Pepys's discernment, but also for the entire audience.

A reference in Mr. J. C. Dibdin's Annals of the Edinburgh Stage might seem to controvert this theory of lights that were raised and lowered, at will, over the stage. In December, 1756, the same opera of The Tempest was brought out at the Edinburgh Theatre, and a notice in the Courant stated that "the stage will be entirely darkened for the representation of the storm; the candles therefore cannot be lighted till after the commencement of the first act." One might infer that similar practice prevailed in the great performance at Dorset Garden in 1674. The stage directions there, however, explicitly say: "and when the Ship is sinking, the House is darken'd." But the ship does not sink till long after the scene has begun! With all due respect to the Edinburgh announcement of 1756, I do not believe that the magnificent Dorset Garden Tempest of 1674 allowed the exciting action to stop while candle-snuffers came on and put out the lights! Nor can I believe that in The Prophetess, at the same house, when the stage is darkened "on a sudden," or that in Dryden and Lee's Œdipus, also at the same gorgeous theatre, in 1679, any such crude device was used—in the last-named for the stage-effects of Act III, Scene 1. This scene is announced by the to me (see page 145) very interesting words, "a dark Grove." It is a weird scene of ghosts and supernatural happenings. Far on in the scene, after a "Peal of Thunder, and Flashes of Lightning" and "Groaning below the Stage,"

we read: "the Stage wholly darken'd." Who, with any sense of dramatic values, could imagine that the instruments of darkness in this awesome circumstance were harmless, necessary candle-snuffers, or that a few minutes later they plied their trade in the opposite direction when, after more lightning, "the Stage is made bright"? This assumption is too absurd; one must admit, however, that much of the manipulation of lights may have been from behind the scenes. Or it may have been done by the opening and closing of "flats"; but certainly never by the useful, derided candle-snuffer.

If one begins, however, with this premise of removable light-bearers, it is easy to convince oneself of its soundness; on what other principle could the enormous descending "machines" or the flying ballets have been manipulated? The concluding wonder of The Prophetess (Dorset Garden, 1690) employs a machine—hitherto mentioned—that descends and fills the entire stage; what, then, one asks, became of the stage lights, if fixed? Into the highest heaven of the flies or out in the wings, instead, were they whisked by pulley, I should guess. The reader may judge: "While a Symphony is playing, a Machine descends, so large, it fills all the Space, from the Frontispiece of the Stage to the farther end of the House; and fixes it self by two ladders of Clouds to the Floor. In it are Four several Stages, representing the Pallaces of two Gods, and two Goddesses: the first is the Pallace of Flora; the Columns of red and white Marble, breaking through the Clouds," etc. The curious in such things may find the delights of this highly elaborate monstrosity in the copy of the play; of course, like culture, the machine bore its own light with it. That hint had been taken from Inigo Jones.

MOONLIGHT AND TRANSPARENCIES

The Adventures of Five Hours contains an interesting light-direction in the garden scene of Act III, where in the course of action, "the rising Moon appears behind the

Scene." This must have been a sudden effect, possibly a utilising of those coloured glass bottles filled with water through which light was forced; unless the stage direction means not *behind* but *in the rear* of the scene, in which case Diana in all her stage-glory might have risen in transparency on the garden.

This would not be the only time that the moon illuminated the Restoration spectacle. In Mrs. Behn's Widow Ranter (Theatre Royal, 1690) the first scene of Act V shows "the Sevana in sight of the Camp; the Moon rises." But William Mountfort's Greenwich Park (same theatre, 1691) in Act III, calls for "the Moon Shining." These people knew what they wanted; all we can do is to wonder how much they got? On the other hand, what could be done in 1692 with a demand like that of The Fairy Queen (Act IV)? "the Sun rises, it appears red through the mist, as it ascends it dissipates the Vapours, and is seen in its full lustre; then the Scene is perfectly discovered," etc. This assuredly called for the utmost resources of that day or of any day.

Transparent scenes were not unknown. The finale of the last act of The Fairy Queen (1692) shows how one could pass from darkness to light by their aid. "While the Scene is darken'd, [by "flats" shoved on?]" we are told, "a single Entry is danc'd . . . . after that the Scene is Suddainly Illuminated ["flats" drawn off?] and discovers a transparent Prospect of a Chinese Garden, etc." Elkanah Settle's Siege of Troy (1715) comes too late to prove anything as to our period concerning such scenes, though its town on fire, with "near forty Windows or Portholes" spreading flames "from House to House" and "all perform'd by Illuminativations [*sic*] and Transparent Painting seen scatter'd thro' the Scenes," is very suggestive of methods that may have been used in the days of Betterton.

The reader has noted reference in the above to dispersing of mists, drawing off of clouds, etc. That effects were attempted in this direction, I cannot doubt. In Addison's inventory of the playhouse (Tatler, July 16, 1709), the

reader will find the item, "a dozen and a half of Clouds, trimmed with black, and well conditioned." I have come to the conclusion that some of the lighting or darkening of the stage was occasioned respectively by the drawing on or off of these simulacra. Dennis's Rinaldo and Armida (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1699) seems positively illuminating on this score. We read "The Stage is darkn'd." Then Rinaldo and Urania, in talk, convey a complete idea of the stage management:

Rin. A very little further on the right:
Upon a sudden 'tis exceeding Dark.
Uran. Yes, with a Darkness foreign to the place:
A Fog, that steaming from the Mouth of Hell,
Doubles the Native Horrors of the Night.

Can you not see the clouds drift in? Or does imagination carry us too far, and were but two flats, painted to represent mist, shut in close to the proscenium? At any rate, whatever the obstruction,

Uran. Thus with the Motion of this sacred Wand,
I in a moment drive away the Mists;
That Cloud your mortal Eyes.

Scene *opens, and discovers* Fame, Heros *and* Heroines *in the Clouds.*

And now behold!
If that your Eyes can bear Immortal Splendor, etc.

I know of no better series of stage directions; unfortunately, the reader must choose between "furbelowed" clouds—to use the Spectator's expression—and prosaic flats. In either case, he is rewarded with the "immortal splendor" of the back stage, brilliantly lighted when the front-stage obstructions are cleared away. The extract rather proves what was previously said as to the possibility of bright illumination for back sets revealed on the pulling away of flats "in one" or "in two," to use the stage expression.

That transparencies were used in blinding storm effects is indicated in Thomas Duffet's burlesque Macbeth, called

forth (1674) by the successful scenic revival of the tragedy at Dorset Garden. His directions read "Thunder and lightning is discover'd, not behind Painted Tiffany to blind and amuse the Senses, but openly, by the most excellent way of Mustard-bowl and Salt-Peter." Thunder and lightning were very popular with Duffet's as with Shakespeare's audiences.

Of course, for the great spectacular pieces in the days of the glory of Dorset Garden all sorts of devices must have been used to illuminate scenes to the full depth of the stage. The reader's ingenuity may be set to work on the stage directions of things like Psyche and Circe and The Prophetess and King Arthur, but for the present his curiosity may be stayed on the recollection of the "big" scene in Mrs. Manley's Royal Mischief (1696), in which is "a walk of Trees the length of the House [i. e., the full depth of the stage]; Lights fixed in Chrystal Candle-sticks to the Branches." Many such devices were called into play when unprecedented splendour was required. If this Seventeenth-Century lighting appears as dim and ineffectual to our Twentieth-Century eyes as our attempts will probably appear to Twenty-third-Century vision, we may be sure it seemed as wonderful to the Seventeenth-Century beholders as ours does to us to-day.

MUSIC

Another great necessity for the theatre is music; and here we can fasten on some facts with a reasonable degree of certainty. At first it is probable that the Restoration houses carried on the tradition of the Elizabethan and placed the band in a music-room of elevated position. In the Elizabethan theatre we know that the music-room, though sometimes in a box in the main gallery, was more often in the tiring-house front, which included as well the inner stage, the upper balcony, etc. In the picture of the Drolls, once supposed to be the Red Bull Theatre, some such place seems to be indicated behind the curtains. At

the same theatre—the Red Bull—temporarily used in 1661, this custom apparently still prevailed, and Pepys on March of that year records "with so much disorder . . . in the musique room, the boy that was to sing a song, not singing it right, his master fell about his ears, and beat him so, that it put the whole house in an uproar." We have learned from the same vivacious chronicler that the "musique" in the new Drury Lane Theatre "was below, and most of it sounding under the very stage, there is no hearing of the bases at all, nor very well of the trebles, which sure must be mended."

Was it mended? Pepys tells us, as we have seen, that, during the plague, the stage was altered; did the alteration involve a restoring of the old music-room in the upper regions? What are we to infer from the lines in the contemporary ballad describing the burning of the theatre in 1672, quoted by Mr. Lawrence?

> But on a sudden a Fierce Fire 'gan rage,
> In several scenes, and overspread the Stage.
> The 'Horrors,' waiting on the dismal sight,
> Soon taught th' Players to th' life to act a Fright.
> The Boxes, whose splendors us'd to surprise
> From constellations of bright ladies' eyes,
> A different blazing lustre now is found.
> And th' music-room with whistle flame doth sound,
> Then catching hold o' th' roof it doth display,
> Consuming fiery trophies every way.

These verses undoubtedly seem to show that the fire, starting below, travelled from stage, to boxes, to music room, to roof; if, indeed, the poet was particular about having his fire keep a straight path, regardless of rhyme.

At the first Duke's house, Pepys's entries seem to be conclusive on the retention of an elevated position for the band, one would guess, almost, in the balcony, near the stage, not *over* the stage. On November 7, 1667, he attended a performance of The Tempest, and was "forced to sit in the side balcone over against the musique room." On May 12, 1669, he was at the same house again "in the side

balcony, over against the musick." It all depends on what he meant by the "side balcony" and "over against"; meantime, a pretty case can be made out for an upper "music room," especially in view of the fact that the Duke of Newcastle's Humorous Lovers produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields, in 1667, calls for a Song in the Musick Room.

The pictures of the proscenium of the Dorset Garden Theatre, with the tantalising open space above the arch of the stage opening, have led many to infer that the musicians occupied the room thus disclosed for ordinary purposes of the beginning and *entr'acte* music. If this were the case, as Mr. Lawrence and many others believe, the practice was not resorted to in the production at this house of Shadwell's operatic Tempest in 1674. For this spectacle the stage directions are explicit as to the position of the orchestra and its composition: "The Front of the Stage is open'd, and the Band, of 24 violins, with the Harpsichals and Theorbo's which accompany the Voices, are plac'd between the Pit and the Stage." Or was this position specified because it was unusual? A very significant hint is found in the play, The Eunuch (1687), identified by Genest as Settle's Love and Revenge, acted at Dorset Garden in 1675. In Scene 4 of Act IV, we read Landsey *solus. Musique above plays.* In the quotation from John Dennis on page 130, one almost scents the idea that the musicians sat on the stage—on the "apron," presumably—after the actors left the scene. But of course one would not force this theory too far.

As we see from the directions in The Tempest, evidently there was string music for descriptive passages, and harpsichord and theorbos or lutes to accompany the songs. But, before the Dorset Garden days, Tom Killigrew in that same talk of February 12, 1666–67, held forth to Pepys on what he had done for the theatre-music: "Then two or three fiddlers, now nine or ten of the best"—obviously one still had usually but a string orchestra. Yet at times the custom must have varied, for Pepys, after seeing The Virgin Martyr on the 27th of February, 1667–68, records: "But

that which did please me beyond anything in the whole world was the wind-musique when the angel comes down, which is so sweet that it ravished me, and indeed, in a word, did wrap up my soul so that it made me really sick . . . . and makes me resolve to practice wind-musique." Mr. Lawrence conjectures that in later days the royal band of violinists divided and earned an extra stipend by playing —twelve each—at the Theatres Royal. We know of Killigrew's connection with the Court, and his boast to Pepys that he had "gathered our Italians from several courts in Christendome to make a concert for the King, which he do give £200 a year to; but badly paid." Perhaps the King and Killigrew had some little agreement of give and take, by which the latter supplied music for the royal ear in exchange for occasional service of the King's musicians at the theatres. As Mr. Lawrence reminds us, the theatres performed in the afternoon, the King took his musical pleasure at night.

It was, of course, just after Killigrew opened the house in Drury Lane that Sorbière attended a performance, and speaks of the "Musick with which you are entertained" and which "People chuse to go in betimes to hear." Magalotti also, in 1669, says that "before the comedy begins, that the audience may not be tired . . . the most delightful symphonies are played; on which account many persons come early to enjoy this agreeable amusement." Pepys, himself, a man of musical taste and training, as we have seen, often commends the music. Why, then, is Killigrew so pessimistic in stating that the public care only for old ballads? Setting this question aside as unanswerable, we may say that the music which people came early to hear was generally designated as first, second and third music, obversely according to its nearness to the time of beginning the play. This habit persisted well into the Eighteenth Century; newspaper accounts of the disgraceful Fitzpatrick riots in 1763 at both theatres inform us that at "the third music" the audience insisted on the musicians' playing sturdy old English tunes like the "Roast Beef of Old England."

It was probably owing to the increasing vogue of operatic productions that the string and wood and brass instruments were finally united in the theatre orchestra. The printed text of Motteux's opera, The Loves of Mars and Venus, "as it is Acted at the New Theatre, in Little Lincolns Inn Fields" (1697), gives the best clue with which I am familiar to musical matters in the theatre of that date. The Prologue, or Introduction, "set to Musick by Mr. Finger," calls for an "Overture: A Symphony of Trumpets, Kettle-Drums, Violins and Hautbois." In a song, we have, after the first stanza, "Ritornel of Flutes"; after the next, "Ritornel of Violins." The first act, "Set to Musick by Mr. John Eccles," has an Overture of Violins and Hautbois, and for the entry of Venus, "a Symphony of Flutes." The second act, also set by Eccles, demands "A March, with Trumpets and Kettledrums, and then with Hautbois." This really shows great gain in sonority at least over the orchestra for The Tempest in 1674. Motteux's Thomyris, Queen of Scythia, produced with great fuss and feathers at the Theatre Royal in 1707, calls for much the same kind of band, though the stage-directions are less specific.

These productions were operatic, and it is altogether probable that for plays a far less imposing array of instruments was required. Yet the Historia Histrionica (1699), speaking of the twenty or more years preceding, asserts that "all this while the Play-house Musick improved Yearly, and is now arrived to greater Perfection than ever I knew it." As a matter of fact, a reading of Restoration drama will convince us that most, if not all, of the instrumental music incidental to the play was brought on the stage, the musicians becoming a kind of sub-conscious actors, as it were. No better illustration can be found than in Porter's Villain, where in Act I "enter Fidlers," and then "Play an Ayr or two"; soon La' mar sings "the Tune to the Musick." In Act II, the "Fidlers" are not so fortunate; they "strike up," and immediately Boutesu "Beats the Fidlers."

SPECTATORS ON THE STAGE

Musicians, when required by the plot, seem more fitting on the stage than in an orchestra pit, their present place of confinement; but what shall we say of stray "gentlemen" and fops, who roam in and out at will, to the disconcerting of players and public? The exquisite gallant on the stage was a well-known feature of Elizabethan playhouses, but from Pepys's silence concerning such nuisances, we infer that the early Restoration stage was kept free of them. By 1664, however, Charles II was forced to pass a decree forbidding the practice of visits behind the scenes. In February 1673–74, he again gave an order against the stage-lizards, assigning the reason that was to prevail for many decades after 1710—the impossibility of managing stage machinery when the platform was crowded with these idlers: "And forasmuch as 'tis impossible to command those vast engines (which move the scenes and machines) and to order such a number of persons as must be employed in works of that nature, if any and such as do not belong thereunto be suffered to press in amongst them; Our will and command is that no person of what quality soever presume to stand or sit on the stages or to come within any part of the scenes before the play begins, while 'tis acting, or after 'tis ended; and we strictly here command our officers and guard of souldiers, which attend the respective theatres, to see this order exactly observed."

By 1696, the custom was again in force. Granville's She Gallants of that year, tells, in the words of Philabel, how the critics cry down a play. "They spread themselves in Parties all over the House; some in the Pit, some in the Boxes, others in the Galleries, but principally on the Stage, they Cough, Sneeze, talk Loud, and break silly Jests, sometimes Laughing, sometimes Singing, sometimes Whistling, till the House is in an Uproar." In the Comparison of the Two Stages (1702), Sullen says of A Trip to the Jubilee, "At that Play, I have seen the Pit, Box, and Stage so crowded——."

From 1702, when the theatres began to advertise in the Daily Courant, till the end of our period, occur occasional printed requests of the managers to gentlemen not to take it ill that they are excluded from the stage. On the first day of new plays, especially, they were, one may say, invited to be absent. For instance, at the première of Cibber's She Wou'd and She Wou'd Not, at Drury Lane, on November 26, 1702: "And it is humbly desir'd, that no Gentleman may interrupt the Action by standing on the Stage the First day." How could any gentleman resist that soft plea? On December 14, 1703, for a special concert at Drury Lane, the notice is far more brusque: "No Person to stand on the Stage." Evidently patience was becoming exhausted; gentlemen, beware! The phrase but not the intent changed in the announcement of the first performance of Cibber's Perolla and Izadora, at Drury Lane, December 3, 1705: "No Person to be admitted behind the Scenes." The Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket, for Love's Triumph, in February and March, 1708, follows suit with a succinct "No Person to stand upon the Stage." And, finally, Drury Lane, in announcing the opening of the season of 1708–9, adds weight to its injunction (September 12th) by certifying "and by her Majesty's Command no Persons are to be admitted behind the Scenes." This notice was to be carried forward into the age of Cibber; for the present, however, it was only occasionally that gentlemen were publicly advertised of their undesirability in stage company. Many a prologue and epilogue of our period will witness the frequency of witling visits to the green-room, and common sense will tell how great was the nuisance thereof. When the wits sprawled on the stage and stood in the acted scene, the situation must have been intolerable. It is marvellous how long this bad custom was a-dying.

Though the actors seriously objected in general to the practice, there was, at least in the first half of the Eighteenth Century, one occasion on which they greatly desired and encouraged it—the occasion of their benefit nights.

We are told that Mrs. Barry was the first theatrical beneficiary, but in the advertisements of the Daily Courant from 1702 on there is ample proof that all the actors indulged at stated intervals in the pleasing lucrative practice of benefit nights. Whether or not they were accustomed to building up the stage I cannot say, though we do know that they railed part of the pit into the boxes. By Garrick's time, as Tate Wilkinson informs us, the stage on these great occasions was built up in an amphitheatre to the "cloudings," and other auditors literally sprawled over the fore-part of the stage, leaving almost no space for the actors, and making entrance and exit almost impossible. I cannot say when this custom began, but clearly something approximating it is indicated in the very first number of Steele's Tatler, under date of Tuesday, April 12, 1709. He is recording an impression of the great benefit of Betterton, then the grand old man of the stage and in misfortune, the performance having taken place on the preceding Thursday, i. e., the 7th of April. Steele is enthusiastic: "There has not been known," he says, "so great a Concourse of Persons of Distinction as at that Time; the Stage itself was covered with Gentlemen and Ladies, and when the Curtain was drawn, it discovered even there a very splendid Audience." The crowd was attracted by the desire to honour the renowned actor, and also to see Mrs. Barry and Mrs. Bracegirdle, both of whom had recently retired from the stage, and emerged now to help their associate of so many glorious years.

VARIETY BETWEEN THE ACTS

Finally I shall ask the reader to remember that in the age of Betterton the lovers of drama did not enjoy their pleasure unmixed. It was seldom—especially in the last years of the era—that they witnessed a play and nothing else; certainly from 1700 to 1710 the dances, songs and instrumental performances between the acts and at the end of the play were of an almost bewildering diversity. That this custom, in part at least, was inherited from the

Elizabethan stage we can conjecture from the verses written by Beaumont to Fletcher on the failure of The Faithful Shepherdess at Blackfriars in 1609, a failure attributed, as usual, to the bad taste of the public, which prefers dancing to drama:

> Nor want there those who, as the Boy doth dance
> Between the acts, will censure the whole Play;
> Some like, if the wax-lights be new that day.

A boy, it will be remembered, danced also between the acts of The Knight of the Burning Pestle. The jig was commonly used for such purposes at the popular Elizabethan houses. According to Hamlet, Polonius was "for a jig, or a tale of bawdry, or he sleeps"—at a play, I take it. It is interesting to find these youthful entertainers buried in the anonymity of the expression, "the Boy"; in 1706, at Drury Lane, one of the successors of such dancers is hidden from fame in exactly the same language. On the 1st of January of that year, according to the advertisement in the Courant, Timon of Athens was performed at the theatre in question "with a Masque set to Musick by the late Mr. Henry Purcel, and perform'd by Mr. Leveridge, Mrs. Lindsey, the Boy and others; and Dancing [this, no doubt, between the acts] by Monsieur du Ruel and Mrs. du Ruel." With The Old Bachelor on the 14th of January, 1706, the "Boy" sang with Mr. Ramondon, and also took part with Mrs. Cross in the Eunuches Dialogue; the entertainment (between acts) also including violin sonatas by Signior Gasperini and dances by Monsieur Cherrier, Mrs. Cross and others. This same "boy" emerged from nameless youth and assumed the artistic *toga virilis* in the advertisement of October 30, 1706 for November 1, 1706, at Dorset Garden (among the very last plays in that historic house), when in addition to The Recruiting Officer, there were entertainments of dancing by Monsieur Cherrier and Miss Santlow —his Scholar (Miss Santlow later married Barton Booth, I must pause to say); and singing by Mr. Leveridge, Mrs. Lindsey, and (the late Boy) Mr. Holcomb. With such pomp of heraldry did a childish treble turn into (let us

hope) a big manly voice. I may add that the "Devonshire Girl" danced "between every Act" at Drury Lane in 1702.

That the custom was revived early in the Restoration period we learn from Pepys, who on March 7, 1666–67, saw "Moll" Davis "dance a jig after the end of the play"; that it was merely added entertainment I gather from Pepys's none too clear language: "and there telling the next day's play [was "Moll" to announce this?]; so that it come in by force only to please the company to see her dance in boy's clothes." If there is any doubt here, there is none concerning the diarist's record of January 19, 1668–69, after he had attended a performance of Katharine Philips' translation of Corneille's Horace—"a silly tragedy; but Lacy hath made a farce of several dances—between each act one: but his words are but silly, and invention not extraordinary, as to the dances; only some Dutchmen come out of the mouth and tail of a Hamburgh sow." This veritably is a pantomimic device long before the days of regular pantomime. In The Successfull Straingers of William Mountfort, 1690, as conclusion to Act III, we find the words: "the End of the Third Act. Mrs. Butler's Dance." But Mrs. Butler was not in the cast of the play; besides, Antonio was alone on the stage at the end of this act.

Just how much of this sort of added "attraction" playgoers saw from 1660 to 1700 we can only conjecture; as to the last years of the century and beyond, Downes is our best guide. "In the space of Ten years past," he writes in 1706, "Mr. *Betterton* to gratify the desires and Fancies of the Nobility and Gentry; procur'd from Abroad the best Dances [*sic*] and Singers, as, Monsieur *L'Abbe,* Madam *Sublini,* Monsieur *Balon, Margarita Delpine, Maria Gallia* and divers others; who being Exorbitantly Expensive, produc'd small Profit to him and his Company, but vast Gain to themselves; Madam *Delpine* since her arrival in *England,* by Modest Computation; having got by the Stage and Gentry, above 10000 Guineas,"—evidently the Patti of her time.

Some of these foreigners appeared in the operas that

from the end of the century till the Camilla and Thomyris of 1706 and 1707 at Drury Lane and the Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket, to use one of Downes's delightful expressions, "infinitely arrided both sexes," but their chief employment was revealed to me only after a research through theatrical advertisements in the Daily Courant from 1702 on to the end of the decade. They merely performed between the acts at the theatre—and thereby naturally reduced the profits of Betterton and the other actors. The Historia Histrionica, as well as Downes, bears witness to this. That the reader may see exactly how things theatrical were run in that far-off time, I beg leave to submit two advertisements transcribed from the serviceable Courant. In the frequent change of management in these uncertain years, it is not surprising to find that the expensive Mme. de l'Epine had passed from Betterton's management to that at Drury Lane. The first of these advertisements is for January 1, 1704 (1703–4 as some would write it) and it reads, freed from corroding italics:

At the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, this present Saturday being the First of January, will be presented a Play call'd, Macbeth. All the Musick (both Vocal and Instrumental) compos'd by Mr. Leveridge, and perform'd by him and others. With several Sonata's on the Violin by Signior Gasperini. Also several Entertainments of Dancing by the Famous Monsieur Du Ruel. And on Monday next will be presented the last reviv'd Comedy call'd, The Squire of Alsatia.

The second is to be found in the same paper at the beginning of 1706. I hope the reader will, like Genest, be properly shocked at the inclusion of such fripperies in a bill made up in substantial part of Macbeth, but no one can be expected to shed a tear over the fate of Sir George Etherege's play:

Not Acted these Twelve Years
At the Desire of several Persons of Quality
At the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane,

to-morrow being Saturday the 5th of January, will be Reviv'd a Play call'd, The Man of Mode; or Sir Fopling Flutter. With Enter-

tainments of Dancing by Monsieur du Ruel and Mrs. du Ruel, Monsieur Cherrier and Mrs. Moss. And the famous Signiora Margrita de l'Epine, will perform several Entertainments of Singing in Ialian [*sic*] and English, composed by the best Masters. To begin at half an hour after 5 a Clock exactly.

The theatre in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields, just before its company's hegira to Vanbrugh's gorgeous Haymarket, was struggling valiantly to keep up the fight against the heavier resources of the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane; thus the whirligig of time brought in its revenges, and poor Betterton saw his own expensive imported artillery turned against himself by the rival house. Pitted against the popular du Ruel and Gasperini (the violinist) and the incomparable de l'Epine, the native showing of the following bill seems pitiable indeed. But probably he whom Arbuthnot a few years later was to call John Bull enjoyed it really more:

At the New Theatre in Little-Lincolns-Inn Fields, this present Thursday, being the 25th of January, will be reviv'd a Comedy called, Like Master Like Man. With several Entertainments of Singing and Dancing in and between the Acts, viz. That celebrated Dialogue by Mr. Boman and Mr. Pack, representing a Drunken Officer and a Town Miss, originally perform'd in the opera of the Mad Lover. As also a Country Dialogue by Mrs. Willis and Mr. Short. A new Trumpet Song by Mr. Davis, compos'd by Mr. Eccles. Likewise the last new Entry by Mr. Firbank and Scholar. The Dance of Blowsabella by Mr. Prince and Mrs. Clark; and several other Comick Dances by him and others. Also a right Irish trot by a child of 5 years of Age. By her Majesty's Sworn Servants.

The temptation is great to go on repeating such bills; after the mystifying uncertainty of the preceding forty years the light of such announcements brings joy to the student. But I must refrain. Those who are familiar with Eighteenth-Century playbills or even with those of the Nineteenth Century up to a time well beyond the mid-century will not be surprised at this admixture of elements in theatrical fare; as a matter of fact, singing, dancing and entertaining were served liberally between the acts for all that length of time, and farce raised its merry head as well,

as indeed it did in the time of which we are writing, and particularly in the age of Cibber.

OPERA

This sort of thing was due to the fact that Vaudeville or variety entertainment was not yet able to get itself born; it stuck like a limpet to the more regular drama. As soon as it grew to the dimensions of a whole evening's entertainment, it naturally dropped off the main body. Drama, indeed, was badly suffering, in 1700–10, from this parasite, as well as another—the opera. The latter, shortly after the opening of the Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket, differentiated itself into a distinct form of entertainment, and under fostering care became a more or less exotic resident, apart from the homely dwelling of the Thespians; but Variety never was entirely shaken off till the middle of the Nineteenth Century in England, or indeed in America.

It may be observed, in conclusion, that this extraneous stuff was most prevalent when the rivalry between the theatres became most acute. In the years when the theatre in the Haymarket was limited to performing operas, or was closed, Drury Lane announced but few "entertainments" with its plays. By the exigency of managerial shifting in 1706, as Downes tells us, Vanbrugh "Transferr'd and Invested his License and Government of the Theatre to Mr. *Swinny;* who brought with him from Mr. *Rich*" the best of the younger actors and joined them to the old. The matchless company resulting has probably never been surpassed, if indeed it has ever been equalled, in the annals of the English stage; not only were Betterton, Mrs. Barry and Mrs. Bracegirdle included, but Wilks, Booth, Cibber, Mrs. Oldfield, Mrs. Porter, Dogget, Norris, Mills, and others of the younger set. Naturally, no other "entertainment" was needed against Rich's enfeebled line at the old house; yet, before long, we find subscription performances arranged "for the Encouragement of the Comedians Acting in the Hay-Market, and to enable them to keep the Diver-

sion of Plays under a separate Interest from Opera." The first of these was a performance of Julius Cæsar at advanced prices and with a cast of extraordinary strength, including Betterton as Brutus, Wilks as Antony, Verbruggen as Cassius, Booth as Cæsar, Mills as Octavius, Mrs. Barry as Calpurnia and Mrs. Bracegirdle as Portia. Talk about entertainment!

CHAPTER V

SCENERY: PARTICULAR PERFORMANCES

THE FIRST TEN YEARS IN GENERAL

Downes's statement may serve to begin the discussion of scenery in Restoration theatres: "His Company being now Compleat, Sir *William* in order to prepare Plays to Open his Theatre, it being then a Building [a-building?] in *Lincoln's-Inn Fields*, His Company Rehears'd the First and Second Part of the Siege of *Rhodes ;* and the Wits at *Pothecaries-Hall :* and in Spring, 1662 [should be 1661], Open'd his House with the said Plays, having new Scenes and Decorations, being the first that e're were Introduc'd in *England.*" We have seen that these productions were not exactly the first in England with scenery; but in spirit Downes is accurate enough, since they were the first in a regular theatre meant hereafter to have such adjuncts, and kept on for indefinite periods as stock-pieces.

The assertion that the plays were produced with *new* scenes and decorations warrants a moment's pause. Obviously the small scenery for the Rutland House performance in 1656 would not fit the more ample stage of the new theatre. The apology for limited space of the earlier editions of The Siege of Rhodes, in 1656 and 1659, is omitted in the Quarto of 1663; perhaps the new theatre needed no such word of friendly deprecation. The address, then, had no further use to serve, but the prologue to Part II, produced, so far as we know, only after the new theatre was inaugurated, shows that Davenant's vaulting ambition still was unsatisfied. I quote from the Folio of 1673:

> But many Trav'lers here as Judges come;
> From *Paris, Florence, Venice,* and from *Rome:*
> Who will describe, when any Scene we draw,
> By each of ours, all that they ever saw;

Those praising, for extensive bredth and height,
And inward distance to deceive the sight.
When greater Objects, moving in broad Space,
You rank with lesser, in this narrow Place,
Then we like *Chess-men*, on a Chess-board are
And seem to play like *Pawns* the *Rhodian* War.
Oh Money! Money! if the *Wits* would dress,
With Ornaments, the present face of Peace,
And to our Poet half that Treasure spare,
Which Faction gets from Fools to nourish War;
Then his contracted Scenes should wider be,
And move by greater Engines, till you see
(Whilst you securely sit) fierce Armies meet,
And raging Seas disperse a Fleet.
Thus much he bad me say; and I confess
I think he would, if rich, mean nothing less.

As the second part of the play is found only in the two later quartos (1663 and 1670), and in the Folio (1673), we may assume that this prologue was spoken in regard to conditions in the new theatre; the reference to *Wits* would prove it—*Wits* under Cromwell in 1656! From this we may infer that the new stage still fell far short of Davenant's desires. Even "machines," dear to his producer's heart, could be displayed only inadequately in 1661; else what means his plea to the "wits" for scenes to "move by wider engines"?

It would be interesting to know just how much scenery the frequenters of regular performances were treated to in the first ten years of the Restoration stage. There may of course be set up a strong case for special performances, like some of Dryden's and Orrery's pieces at the Theatre Royal, but what of the plays of the regular repertoire or older comedies and tragedies occasionally revived? Was there a collection of stock scenes—outdoor and indoor sets—that sufficed for these? Did Pepys, like Tate Wilkinson a hundred years later, or like the reader or me or anybody in frequenting country theatres of modern times, see the same "set" shoved on, time after time, to represent places thousands of miles and hundreds of years apart? Of this, judging from subsequent periods of the drama, I can have no doubt

whatever. I am very skeptical as to elaborate mounting in any but rare instances in the ten years before the opening of Dorset Garden.

My belief is founded on contemporary records and their sparse reference to setting; this sparseness assuredly seems strange in the very first flush of novelty. Pepys visited the theatre some 350 times, and how often does he mention scenery? Yet Pepys was a very observant man, always looking for details. On July 2, 1661, he attended the fourth performance of the second part of The Siege of Rhodes, Davenant's first offering at the new theatre, and merely records: "the scene opened; which indeed is very fine and magnificent." Only this, and nothing more; and not so much regarding The Wits, and Hamlet, next seen by him at the "Opera." The mounting of The Faithful Shepherdess, The Island Princess—the latter "with a good scene of a town on fire"—and one or two others, is mentioned at the Theatre Royal, at which house he twice commends The Indian Queen of Dryden for "show"; but beyond these scanty records he says nothing of scenery in the extra-Shakespearian field, though he oftener speaks of "cloaths" and dresses, and mass-groupings. His most explicit comment is made, as a matter of fact, on a daylight visit to the King's Theatre, then closed during the plague. "The machines," he states, "are fine and the paintings very pretty." Pepys's word, "paintings," is interesting; it clearly bears out what I have tried to prove of scenery as pictures behind the actors, not as surroundings in which they lived and moved and had their being. In fact the favourite word of the times—"scenes"—somehow suggests the same thing, pictures not yet merged into "scenery."

Evelyn is almost equally reticent. On February 5, 1664, he "saw The Indian Queene acted, a tragedie so beautiful with rich scenes, as the like had never been seene here, or haply (except rarely) elsewhere on a mercenary theater." And on February 9, 1671, he attended at Court a performance of the "famous play call'd The Siege of Granada . . . . there were indeede very glorious sceanes and perspec-

tives, the worke of Mr. Streeter, who well understands it." Although he records several other visits to the play, he makes no further mention of scenery.

If we consult Downes we shall find the same result. For these first ten years—until, in 1671, the Duke's Company moved from Lincoln's-Inn Fields to the larger and handsomer house in Dorset Garden—he seldom says much of the setting. He frequently waxes enthusiastic over the new "cloaths," but only occasionally tucks in a remark about new scenes, and then with no gusto. Love and Honour was "Richly C[l]oath'd, the King giving Mr. *Betterton* his Coronation Suit . . . . . the Duke of *York* giving Mr. *Harris* his, ... and my Lord of *Oxford*, gave Mr. *Joseph Price* his." Similarly, the much-vaunted Adventures of Five Hours was "Cloath'd so excellently Fine in proper habits." Henry VIII, Orrery's Mustapha and Henry V receive like credit. But this is all that can be drawn from the usually excitable Downes; considering his delight in such things during the Dorset Garden days, what is to be inferred from his reticence here?

Against this negative evidence is to be set the statement of both Sorbière and Monconys in 1663, as to frequent changes of scene. The former wrote of "beaucoup de changemens et des perspectives" at the Theatre Royal. The latter says of the same theatre, under date of May 22, 1663: "les changemens de Théatre et les machines sont fort ingenieusement inventées & executées"; but he was equally pleased at the Duke's house on June 5 of the same year: "les changemens de Scene me plûrent beaucoup." Another traveller, Samuel Chappuzeau, in L'Europe Vivante (1667), speaks of "la troupe de Monsieur [a decidedly French way of putting it], frere unique du Roy, dans la place de Lincoln, qui reussit admirablement dans la machine." This last testimony, by the way, is of value regarding Davenant's success with "machines"; hitherto, at least by record, native and foreign, the palm in such things would seem to have gone to Killigrew. Finally, Magalotti, in 1669, testifies of the London theatres: "the scenery is very light,

capable of a great many changes, and embellished with beautiful landscapes." This last remark apparently brings the circle round once more to Pepys with his "paintings" that were "very pretty." Magalotti, as we have seen, gives further valuable evidence to the effect that the theatre was "sufficiently lighted on the stage and on the walls, to enable the spectators to see the scenes and the performances."

The testimony of these foreigners seems to be against me; but we must remember that they saw specially-arranged performances—in Magalotti's case a gorgeous ballet of "Psyche." I believe that they but bear out my rather deep-seated conviction that such special productions, particularly of an operatic cast, were indeed mounted with considerable pomp and circumstance, but that the more "legitimate" repertoire was "decorated" with only the most thrifty respectability. At all events, Dryden's despised Richard Flecknoe in his Discourse of the English Stage (1664) thinks the English stage very inferior in decoration to the Continental; I am glad to be supported by this abused man:

> For Scenes and Machines they are no new Invention, our Masks and some of our Playes in former times (though not so ordinary) having had as good or rather better than any we have now.
>
> They are excellent helps of imagination, most grateful deceptions of the sight, and graceful and becoming Ornaments of the Stage, transporting you easily without lassitude from one place to another, or rather by a kinde of delightful Magick, whilst you sit still, does bring the place to you. Of this curious Art the *Italians*, this latter age, are the greatest Masters, the *French* good proficients, and we in England onely Schollars and Learners yet, having proceeded no further then to bare painting, and not arriv'd to the stupendious wonders of your great Ingeniers, especially not knowing yet how to place our Lights, for the more advantage and illuminating of the Scenes.

Finally, Wright also, speaking in the person of his own Lovewit, in 1699 (Historia Histrionica), supports my view. He tells us that after a year or two at the theatre in Vere Street, the King's Players "removed to the *Theater Royal* in *Drury-lane*, where they first made use of Scenes, which

had been a little before introduced upon the publick Stage by Sir *William Davenant*, at the *Duke's Old Theater* in *Lincolns-Inn-fields*, but afterwards very much improved, with the Addition of curious Machines, by Mr. *Betterton*, at the New *Theater* in *Dorset-Garden*, to the great Expense, and continual Charge of the Players." *Very much improved:* apparently, then, Wright did not think highly of the efforts during the decade which we are considering. And at the end of the century, he asserts that the plays "with all their Shew, can hardly draw an Audience." So much for "tinsel trappings" to "poetic pride"!

If we turn to the printed copies of some of the more notable plays of the period, we receive ample corroboration of our theory. There are very few descriptions of scenery; in many cases none at all. Where such occur they are obviously of the picture-variety, now so familiar to our imaginations. Even The Indian Queen, extolled by both Pepys and Evelyn, has hardly any suggestion of such adornment; the evidence would all point to what Pepys calls "pleasant shows" or spectacular groupings of picturesquely-clad characters. This phase of the mounting is stressed by the epilogue to the play, but Evelyn's account of the "rich scenes" is borne out in the following lines of the same address before the curtain:

> 'Tis true, y'have Marks enough, the Plot, the Show,
> The Poet's Scenes, nay, more, the Painter's too.

In this instance, then, the scantiness of the scene-description in the text is more than offset by the evidence of three such diverse witnesses as Pepys, Evelyn and Dryden himself; obviously, The Indian Queen was mounted with great splendour. But what of its successor—The Indian Emperor? Pepys saw this piece four times, beginning on August 22, 1667, and not one word does he utter concerning scene or "show." The reason is plain: in spite of inherent probability of a long run for this successor of the first very popular Mexican play, no attempt at new scenic investiture was

evidenced. This we learn from the indubitable testimony of the prologue, which apologises specifically in three unusually clear lines:

> The Scenes are old, the Habits are the same
> We wore last Year, before the Spaniards came.
> . . . . . .
> We neither promise you one Dance, or Show.

In other words, the scenes and dresses are exactly the same as those of The Indian Queen of the year before!

And now, oddly enough, The Indian Queen failing us in the matter of synopses or descriptions of scenery, The Indian Emperor, self-confessedly using the same old sets, gravely puts them down in order, at the heads of acting scenes, as follows: a pleasant Indian Country, a Temple, the Magician's Cave, a Chamber Royal, a Camp, Mexico, a Prison. The reader who has followed me thus far can from such a list pick out scenes which were "flats" or landscapes—like "Mexico," and those which were "releives" or more often settings,—"a temple" or "the Magician's cave," for instance. Furthermore, he can, especially in examining the play, determine what was acted on the inner stage, with properties, and what on the outer with none.

Dryden's Conquest of Granada was produced in 1670, when, alas! Pepys had ceased to write on the theatre. But Evelyn, we remember, saw the piece at court, and especially commends the "very glorious sceanes and perspectives, the worke of Mr. Streeter, who well understands it." The question is whether this splendour was prepared for the court performance—Streeter was the favourite painter of Charles II—or whether the actors carried with them to Whitehall the scenery previously used in the theatre. Aggas, according to Walpole, was the scene-painter of the King's house. In any case, the scene-directions in the published work are tantalisingly scant. There is almost nothing in Part I, but in Part II we have general headings to the scenes: a Camp, the Alhambra, a Wood, the Albayzyn,

a Gallery in the Alhambra. In Act V, Scene II, provided for the general conflict, "the Scene changes to the Vivarambla, and appears filled with Spectators [painted?]; a Scaffold hung with black." How, in midst of this meagre description, one longs for some account of Streeter's scenes, or some visual representation of them!

These were among the most noteworthy productions of the ten years we are dimly questioning; but what of the general run of plays? A clue is found in the prologue to Shadwell's Squire of Alsatia, produced at the Theatre Royal in 1688. This bit, protesting against the giddiness of public taste, tries to enumerate the changes through which it has passed in preceding years. "Infected by the French," it says, "you must have rhyme," that is, as in 1663 and thereafter; "soon after this, came ranting fustian in" (a hit at Nat Lee?); afterwards, the "vile usurper, farce,"

> Then came Machines, brought from a Neighbour Nation,
> Oh, how we suffer'd under Decoration!

That is, after rhyme and fustian and farce had successively run their courses, came "machines" and "decoration"; which is exactly what I have been trying to prove. The age of rhyming plays was that of the ten years preceding the opening of Dorset Garden; in other words, if Shadwell was correctly informed, plays like The Indian Queen, and The Conquest of Granada, *preceded* the rage for "machines" and "decoration" inaugurated by the theatre in Dorset Garden; however richly they may have seemed to Pepys and Evelyn or Dryden himself to have been mounted, their splendours were as nothing compared to those of The Tempest, Psyche, etc., in the next decade at the big new theatre erected for the Duke's Company. For final conviction, listen to this plaint of Dryden in the prologue to a revival of Ludowick Carlell's Arviragus and Philicia, spoken by Hart, at the old theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, just vacated by the Duke's Company in its flight to the elegant new theatre aforesaid, and now temporarily occupied by the King's Company, be-

cause of the fire that had destroyed their own house in Drury Lane. "With sickly Actors," it begins,

> With sickly Actors and an old House too,
> We're matched with glorious Theatres and new,
> And with our Ale-house Scenes, and Cloaths bare worn,
> Can neither raise old Plays, nor new adorn.

This seems to me to tell the whole story, of stock-scenes, stock-dresses, shabby production. The circumstances were here, perhaps, exceptional; but whence came the "ale-house scenes" and "cloaths bare worn"? If they had not been saved from the fire at Drury-Lane, they must have been the decorations just cast aside by the rival company in the hegira to the superb new theatre. In either case, then, they were the ordinary wear of one of the companies in the decade we are discussing.

But whether the use of scenery was sparing or lavish in those days, testimony incontrovertible points to the elaborate spectacle or mass-grouping of supernumeraries in both houses, during the era of Pepys, who, indeed, himself bears witness to the fact. Some idea of the authors' intentions, at least, can be gathered from a reading of the stage directions in the printed copies of the plays. Though The Indian Queen (1665), as we have found, cites no scene-pictures or flats, it certainly arranges for effective groups like that in Act II, Scene 2: "Zempoalla appears seated upon a Throne, frowning upon her Attendants"; but what is a mere throne to this haughty tyrant? At the beginning of Act III she "appears seated upon her Slaves in Triumph, and the Indians, as to celebrate the Victory, advance in a warlike Dance." This approaches closely to the spectacular, but it could be shown on a "sceneless" stage. Something more specific is found at the beginning of Act V: "Scene opens, and discovers the Temple of the Sun, all of Gold, and four Priests, in Habits of white and red Feathers, attending by a bloody Altar, as ready for Sacrifice. Then enter the Guards, Zempoalla, and Traxalla; Inca, Orazia, and Montezuma, bound. As soon as they are placed, the Priest

sings." No wonder Pepys found all this "show" very pleasing.

This was undoubtedly the climax-scene of the production. A charming effect also comes toward the close of The Indian Emperor (Act IV, Scene 2): "A pleasant Grotto discover'd; in it a Fountain spouting; round about it Vasquez, Pizarro, and other Spaniards, lying carelessly unarmed, and by them many Indian Women, one of which sings the following Song," to show how near the heroic plays of long ago were to the comic opera of to-day.

Samuel Chappuzeau, from whom we quoted previously in connection with the interior of the theatres, has, in a later work—Le Théatre François (1674)—a comparison of the stages of several countries which is very illuminating as to English customs six years before. From a somewhat different angle it treats of the English love of grouping, of the use of many supernumeraries, etc., at present the theme of our discourse. "Toutes les fois," he states, "qu'vn Roy sort, & vient à parêtre sur le Theâtre [this is a point I have found in no other writer], plusieurs Officiers marchent devant luy, & crient en leur langue: *Place! place!* comme lorsque le Roy passe à Vvit-thal d'un quartier à l'autre, parce qu'ils veulent, disent ils, representer les choses naturellement. Ils en vsent de méme à proportion en d'autres rencontres, & introduissent quantité de personnages muets que nous nommons *Assistans*, pour bien remplir le Theâtre; ce qui satisfait la veüe, & cause aussi quelquefois de l'embarras. Estant à Londres il y a six ans, j'y vis deux fort belles Troupes de Comediens, l'vne du Roy, & l'autre du duc d'Yorc, & ie fus a deux representations, à *la Mort de Montezume, Roy de Mexique* [Dryden's Indian Emperor], & à celle de *Mustapha*, qui se defendoit vigoureusement sur le Theâtre contre les muets qui le vouloient étrangler; ce qui faisoit rire, & ce que les François n'auroient representé que dans vn recit."

Would one be far wrong in calling this the first bit of genuine criticism on English acting? At all events, the details about the entry of the King on the stage with some-

thing like the state that prevailed at Whitehall, about the employment of large numbers of supernùmeraries, and the fight between these and the royal personage are of inestimable value to us in our search for data concerning actual stage conditions in the time of Charles II. Dryden, however, in the Essay of Dramatic Poesy, while agreeing with Chappuzeau as to the absurdity of stage-fights, differs as to the numbers employed. "For what," he asks, "is more ridiculous than to represent an Army with a Drum and five Men behind it; all which the Heroe of the other side is to drive in before him?" Probably Dryden, unlike Chappuzeau, was referring to the every-day productions of the time.

Spectacle and grouping are the mainstay of such effects, however large or small the stage-crowd; and of them we cannot doubt the frequent if not always successful use; in the scenes from Dryden previously quoted the reader sees that "machines" also were not far away. Hence to them we will now devote our attention. As a matter of fact, very elaborate contrivances were needed for the fourth act of Dryden's Tyrannick Love, produced at Drury Lane in 1669. The scene is an Indian Cave. Soon "Nakar and Damilcar descend in Clouds, and sing." After a duet, "the Clouds part, Nakar flies up, and Damilcar down." Later, "Damilcar stamps, and the Bed rises with S. Catharine in it. A Scene of a Paradise is discovered. At the end of the Song a Dance of Spirits. After which Amariel, the Guardian-Angel of St. Catharine, descends to soft Musick, with a flaming Sword. The Spirits crawl off the Stage amazedly, and Damilcar runs to a corner of it. Later, the Angel ascends, and the Scene shuts."

I know of nothing more elaborately spectacular in the years before the opening of Dorset Garden in 1671. A similar effect is introduced in The Black Prince of the Earl of Orrery, combined with a considerable amount of what I have called mass-grouping of splendidly arrayed characters. Pepys admired the scenes of this play at its first production, October 19, 1667. The first scene of the second act is

remarkable: "the Curtain being drawn up [note this in a day when curtains rarely fell during a performance], King Edward the Third, King John of France, and the Prince of Wales appear, seated on one Side of the Theatre; waited on by the Count of Guesclin, the Lord Latymer, the Lord Delaware, and other Lords, with the King's Guards. On the other side of the Theatre are seated Plantagenet, Alizia, Cleorin, Sevina, and other Ladies. The Scene opens: Two Scenes of Clouds appear, the one within the other; in the Hollow of each Cloud are Women and Men richly apparell'd, who sing in Dialogue and Chorus, as the Clouds descend to the Stage: Then the Women and Men enter upon the Theatre, and dance; afterwards return into the Clouds, which insensibly rise; all of them singing until the Clouds are ascended to their full Height: Then only the Scene of the King's magnificent Palace does appear. All the Company arise."

Both the plays from which I have quoted were produced at the King's Theatre, not Davenant's, and constitute but part of the evidence on which I base my suspicion of the inferiority of the Duke's Theatre to the Theatre Royal. No doubt this sense of the inferiority of his resources and the necessity of one-sided competition induced Davenant to plan the vaster spaces of Dorset Garden.

Painted flats and wings (dare we suggest often merely stock-sets?), machines, as yet, I cannot help believing, of a rather primitive kind, mass-groupings, rich costumes, dance: these are the contributions of the years 1661–71 to the history of productions in the regular theatre in London. The word most frequently recurring in Pepys is "scenes"; in the record of the foreigners, "machines" and "change of scene"; in Downes, "cloaths." Downes was nearest to the fountain-head and probably stressed the most notable feature of the show.

A trifle light as air I find to support my theory in The Rehearsal of the Duke of Buckingham. This bit of fooling, produced in December, 1671, just at the close of the ten obscure years we are discussing, satirises all the stage

eccentricities and exaggerations of the time. It hits at the heroic play, at bombast and rhyme, at incredible plot-building, at tricks, machines and things. The Key of 1704 tells the unlearned just what stage-fashions and conventions from 1661 to 1671 were in the mind of the genial satirist as he wrote. Now the one thing that is not even mentioned is scenery; if so much of it was visible in the public theatre of the time, why is it not burlesqued in The Rehearsal?

Look at the matter in detail. Bayes informs his visitors that now he will shew them "a Scene indeed; or rather, indeed the Scene of Scenes. 'Tis an Heroick Scene." Questioned as to his meaning, he answers: "Why, Sir, my design is *Roman* Cloaths, guilded Truncheons, forc'd conceipt, smooth Verse, and a Rant." "Cloaths," of course, *à la* Downes, but no scenery, mark you. Again, toward the end of the play, occurs a really elaborate attempt at spectacle: "The Curtain is drawn up, and the two usurping Kings appear in State, with the four Cardinals, Prince Pretty-man, Prince Volcius, Amarillis, Cloris, Parthenope, &c. before them, Heralds and Sergeants at Arms with Maces." In the midst of the act, a machine is brought in: "The two right Kings of Brentford descend in the Clouds, singing in white garments; and three Fiddlers sitting before them, in green."

This bit in word, act and machine, is a skilful burlesque of that scene in Tyrannick Love just described. Everything noticeable in the original is mimicked here; if there had been much stress on the setting for Dryden's play, would it, too, not have come in for its share of ridicule in The Rehearsal? The reader can answer this question as well as I.

SHAKESPEARE AND THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF THE PICTURE-STAGE, 1661–1671

For the ten years (1661–71) covered by the history of the theatres until the opening of the house in Dorset Garden we find but scanty evidence as to the staging of Shakespeare.

Hamlet, so far as we know, was the first of Shakespeare's works to be mounted with scenery in the public theatre. Pepys, on the 24th of August, 1661, records: "To the Opera, and there saw Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, done with scenes very well, but above all, Betterton did the prince's part beyond imagination." If he had but described those scenes, how much speculation would later writers have been spared! As it is, I venture the guess that only ordinary flats, or shutters with slight additions of side-wings, were employed; nevertheless we should be delighted for some hint or hints to redecorate that long-vanished historic occasion. Downes says nothing of scenery, in his record, but speaks with equal enthusiasm of Betterton.

Pepys, as I have said, saw twelve Shakespearian plays, some of them several times each, but in connection with comparatively few does he mention scenery or spectacle. Henry VIII is among those thus honoured. Pepys, after waiting impatiently to see the much-vaunted production, at last attended and went home "dissatisfied"; "it is so simple a thing made up of a great many patches, that, besides the shows and processions in it, there is nothing in the world good or well done." On January 27, 1663–64, in "observing the streete full of coaches at the new play, The Indian Queene," he is moved to add, "which for show, they say, exceeds Henry the Eighth." On December 30, 1668, he was "mightily pleased" with it, "better than ever I expected, with the history and shows of it." What did he mean by shows? I suspect he meant what he speaks of, processions; also mass-groupings with characters beautifully garbed. This is the custom that continued for more than a century in the London play-houses, when Shakespeare was richly revived. Pepys's record is valuable to that effect; but Downes mentions scenery as well, though he stresses, as we have seen, the "cloaths." "This play," he says, "by Order of Sir *William Davenant*, was all new Cloath'd in proper Habits. The King's was new, all the Lords, the Cardinals, the Bishops, the Doctors, Proctors,

Lawyers, Tip-staves, new Scenes: . . . Every part by the great Care of Sir *William*, being exactly perform'd; it being all new Cloathed and new Scenes; it continu'd Acting 15 Days together with general applause." If Downes, Pepys failing us, had but described those scenes; why didn't he? It is impossible to guess. But that they were not so important as the "show" is to my mind proved by Bayes's description of that burlesque of Tyrannick Love just noted. Of it he says, "I'l shew you the greatest Scene that ever *England* saw: I mean not for words, for those I do not value; but for state, shew, and magnificence. In fine, I'l justifie it to be as grand to the eye every whit, I gad, as that great Scene in *Harry* the Eight, and grander too, I gad; for, instead of two Bishops, I have brought in two other Cardinals." I wonder if there is a gentle rap at careless stage management in the Shakespearian production, in Smith's question, which Bayes refuses to answer: "Mr. *Bayes* pray what is the reason that two of the Cardinals are in Hats, and the other two in Caps?" Of the same historical play we hear earlier in The Rehearsal when Bayes cries out in disgust to his dancers: "You dance worse than the Angels in *Harry* the Eight, or the fat spirits in *The Tempest*, I gad." From this bit we learn that the "spirits of peace" which comforted Queen Katharine were represented to the eye in the Restoration period, though the Eighteenth-Century stage knew them not except as a mental suggestion.

Macbeth, probably in Davenant's alteration, was seen nine times by Pepys. Once he calls it "a most excellent play for variety"; again, "a most excellent play in all respects, but especially in divertisement, though it be a deep tragedy; which is a strange perfection in a tragedy, it being most proper here, and suitable." On another visit he describes it as one of the best plays for a stage, and variety of dancing and musique, that ever I saw." Variety, "divertisement," dancing, musique: but not a word about scenery!

Pepys saw Dryden and Davenant's The Tempest eight

times. He talks of the music, and speaks once of seeing "the actors in their several dresses, especially the seamen and monster, which were very droll," but, as usual, he is reticent about the scenes. If they had been very striking, would the observant Pepys thus have passed them over in silence? I am positive he would not. Nevertheless we must admit he also ignores the "fat spirits" ridiculed in The Rehearsal.

Downes says nothing about these productions at Lincoln's Inn Fields, and we are forced to fall back ruefully on his notice of The Rivals, Davenant's adaptation of The Two Noble Kinsmen of Fletcher and Shakespeare: "The Rivals, a Play, Wrote by Sir *William Davenant;* having a very Fine Interlude in it, of Vocal and Instrumental Musick; . . . *Mr. Price* introducing the Dancing by a short Comical Prologue, gain'd him an Universal Applause of the Town."

This is absolutely everything I know in connection with the first ten years of Shakespeare on the picture-stage. If we turn to the printed copies of the plays for that same period, we receive no further help. The acting versions of all the above plays and the others produced have no descriptions of scenery. The so-called Macbeth of Davenant was not printed until 1674, and, as we saw, probably is based on the production at Dorset Garden, mentioned by Downes; the 1670 edition of Davenant and Dryden's Tempest is entirely free from scene-descriptions.

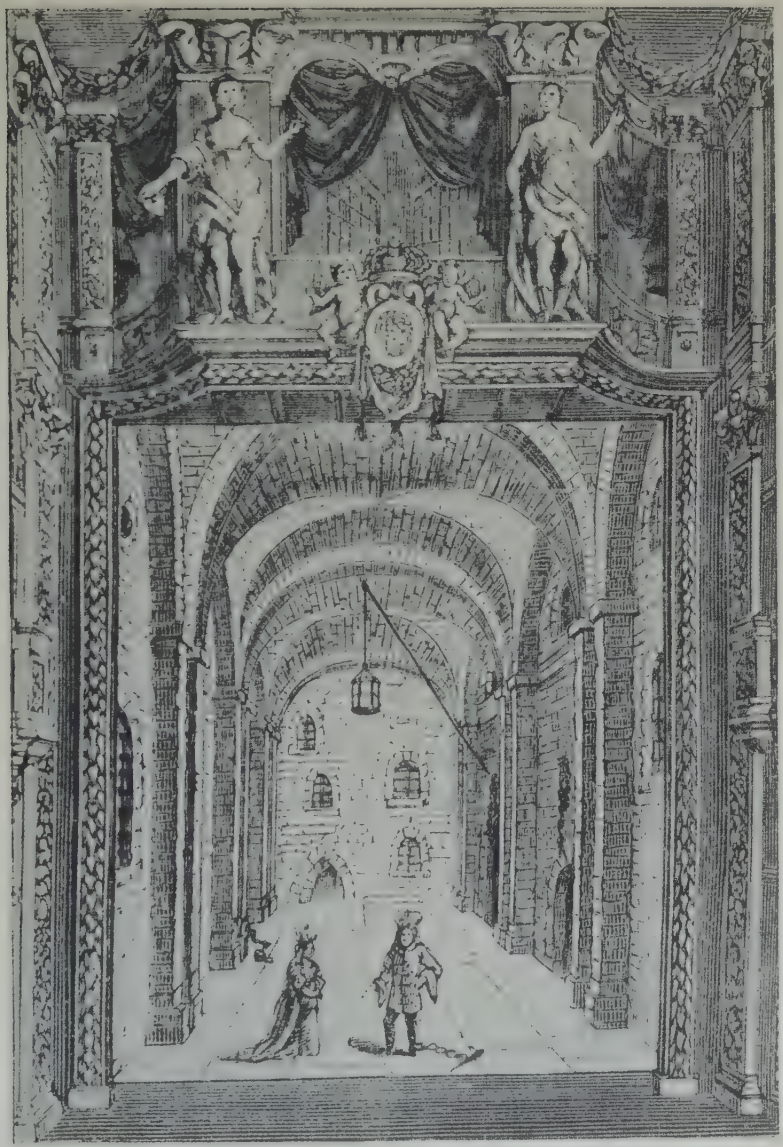
In other words, we have only our knowledge of what was done in the non-Shakespearian drama in the decade 1660–70, to guide us in forming an idea of the way in which Shakespeare was mounted in those ten years. Judging from the silence of Pepys and Downes, I am forced to believe that the settings of his plays were not very elaborate, but that great stress was laid, at times, on dresses, stage-groups, processions, dances, and music. How can we read anything else into the account of these two admirable stage-historians?

DORSET GARDEN AND THE SECOND THEATRE IN DRURY LANE, 1671–1695

Fortunately, we know something definite concerning the stage-measurements in both these houses, in each case thanks to Elkanah Settle, to the "sculptures" of whose Empress of Morocco we are indebted, also, for pictures of Dorset Garden. This coincidence merits comment. In the last years of the century the unfortunate Elkanah turned more and more to the preparation of elaborate spectacles, which he published with very full stage directions, so full indeed that one suspects they must have been written out by a scene-plotter, or chief mechanician. The book of The World in the Moon, produced in 1697 at Dorset Garden, and that of The Virgin Prophetess, brought out at Drury Lane in 1701, give very specific measurements for the stages on which they were respectively produced.

From the former of these concoctions, we learn that the arches in Act III extend "near Thirty Foot high"; Act IV calls for "a wood near Thirty Foot high." The really gorgeous scene in Act V of "Terras Walks on Eight several Stages mounted one above another" has an ascent of marble steps "advancing Twenty-four Foot high"—the whole "terminating at Fifty Foot deep, being the Extent of the House." Something of the width of the stage—not, of course, the exact measurements, may be inferred from the statement that, in Scene 1 of Act I, "a Circular part of the back Clouds rolls softly away, and gradually discovers a Silver Moon, near Fourteen Foot Diameter." It would be a wide stage that could comfortably and artistically accommodate so large a luminary. A stage allowing for scenes "thirty foot high" and "fifty foot deep" must have been a proportionate number of "foot" wide; nevertheless, a glance at the stage openings depicted in The Empress of Morocco gives the impression of a frame very narrow for its height.

The book of The Virgin Prophetess (1701), again, teaches us by just how much the stage of the new Drury Lane was



SCENE FROM THE EMPRESS OF MOROCCO, 1673
Courtesy of the Musical Quarterly

smaller than that of Dorset Garden. Each of the five Pyramids in the Temple of Diana is "Twenty-two Foot high; at the Bottom of each Pyramide is a Pedestal five Foot and a half High." As on each of these pedestals, however, "stands a Figure (being so many young Women about 13 or 14 years of Age)," I am really not quite sure as to whether or not five feet and a half should be added to twenty-two, to get the actual height of the pyramids. That the scenes at times soared above twenty-two feet can be proved by a later direction, "under the Second Grand Arch, a painted Curtain hangs down to the Ground, reaching upwards only thirteen Foot, and the like in width, the whole Prospect of the Roof of the Scenes being seen about Eleven Foot over it." Twenty-four feet seems to be the average height, but the last scene of all that ends this strange eventful history of the fall of Troy calls for "buildings twenty-six Foot high," which would seem to be reaching about the limit of visible elevation in the house. The Wren plan discovered by Mr. Hamilton Bell indicates hardly more than 20 feet for the height of the proscenium.

In regard to this theatre we get some idea of the width of the stage; we are told that "the whole three Perspectives now reach to Twenty five Foot width." Finally, the stage being completely filled with palaces in perspective, the scene direction is very definite: "this machine now filling the whole House, and reaching 24 Foot high, making so many Visto's of Pallace-Work." This proscenium opening also had "Side Wings," as Cibber calls them,—"tormentors," in modern parlance; something, in other words, like the figures of Comedy and Tragedy, seen at the sides of the Covent Garden stage, in the representation of the Fitzgig riots of 1763. If so, must some extra feet be allowed for them, and added to the "Twenty-five Foot" of the "three Perspectives" above? The drawing of the scene from Ariane (1674) suggests a stage wide in proportion to its height.

Unfortunately, we have no positive clue to the depth of the stage at Drury Lane. I can only refer the reader once

more to the Wren plan (page 12). The stage-space provided for scenes extends backward hardly more than 20 feet, which, though it offers, when combined with the 17 feet of the "apron," a considerable room for acting, even for grouping, dancing, etc., would seem, without the "apron," to offer no very liberal allowance for the manipulation of machines and scenery. The drawing indicates no scene-appliances back of the region set with "flats," and it would, therefore, be idle for us to speculate further. All things considered, it will be clear that the stage of Dorset Garden, permitting, as we have seen, a show "terminating at Fifty Foot deep, being the Extent of the House," gave opportunity for spectacle quite in excess of the platform at the rival theatre—granting that the Wren plan represents something like that rival.

Hence we readily see that, with the completion of Dorset Garden particularly, no further apologies were needed for lack of room, or lack of equipment. On the stage of this house, before and after the union of the companies in 1682, were carried out those ambitious plans for spectacle and opera that had long been germinating in the head of Davenant. Here at length the public were treated to shows that rivalled in splendour the most ambitious attempts of the court masques of the first Stuart kings. Any doubt the reader may have on this head was certainly not shared by Shadwell in the epilogue to what Downes calls his "long-expected opera" of Psyche, 1673–74. "Gallants," says the author,

> Gallants, you can tell
> No Foreign Stage can ours in Pomp excel,
> And here none e'er shall treat you half so well.
> Poor Players have this Day that Splendor shown,
> Which yet but by Great Monarchs has been done.

I should not wonder if this were exactly true; from the tone of the writing, I infer that Psyche was about the first attempt to regale an audience in a public theatre with delectabilities so gorgeous and expensive. In view of this, it is with something approaching gratitude that we learn

from the Preface exactly who were Shadwell's coadjutors in the "getting-up" of this superb spectacle; in the order named, they were that "long known able, and approved Master of Musick, Mr. Lock," who composed the songs; "that great Master, Seignior Gio. Baptista Draghi, Master of the Italian Musick to the King," who wrote the instrumental music; "the most famous Master of France, Monsieur St. Andree," who "made" the dances; and Mr. Stephenson, the "ingenious Artist," who painted the scenes. The last-named we thankfully seize on as the fourth scene-painter in our history—Webb and Streeter and Aggas being the others. Finally "in those Things that concern the Ornament or Decoration of the Play [including the machines, I suppose], the great Industry and Care of Mr. Betterton ought to be remember'd," presumably the artistic director and designer of all.

Here are many cooks to the broth, and as the names of the musicians and Betterton frequently recur, we learn to lean on them as the pillars of the temple; whether or not Stephenson continued to paint the scenes, I am unable to state. In any case, but few of these expensive luxuries were offered during the entire life of Dorset Garden; one can count those recorded on fewer than his ten fingers. The reason, obvious enough, is cited in the concluding lines of Shadwell's epilogue, already quoted:

> But oh! a long farewell to all this sort
> Of Plays, which this vast Town cannot support.
> If you could be content th' Expence to bear,
> We would improve, and treat you better ev'ry Year.

Besides Psyche, Macbeth and The Tempest (these two shortly to be considered), the greatest spectacles of the last years of the century at Dorset Garden were Charles Davenant's Circe (1677); Dryden's Albion and Albanius (1685); and that trio of operatic magnificences produced in the years 1690–92, which were glorified by Downes and were still famous even to the days when Charles Gildon compared the two stages in 1702. These were Dryden's King

Arthur, mentioned by no less a person than Jeremy Collier in his Short View, as one of four plays in which "the Poets have been prodigal in their Expence," and "so much Finery must not be Crowded"; Betterton's adaptation of Fletcher's Prophetess, and The Fairy Queen, derived by a person unknown from A Midsummer Night's Dream. The directions for spectacle printed in the books of these confections astonish the reader to-day by their suggestions for lavish splendour. By this time the public taste for such things was so developed that Downes is forced, as we have seen, ruefully to bewail the tremendous expenditure. Thus, as usual, the taste for spectacle brought to the manager the noose with which to hang himself. And lovers of classic drama, which generally goes very shabbily dressed and mounted, always rejoice in raven-manner over such failures.

The student of stage effects could not do better than read the scene-directions of these productions, with their demands for every conceivable form of spectacular splendour in transformation scenes, elaborate machines, operatic and masque-like ingredients of song and dance. If the producers accomplished anything like their intention, the Dorset Garden audiences witnessed shows that equal anything visible in the playhouses of to-day. Again I hasten to add that I mean in painted picture, trick appliances, dancing, etc. I still doubt if the scenery was quite scenery in our sense of the term. A glance at the scene from Ariane will show what I mean.

SHAKESPEARE AT DORSET GARDEN AND THE NEW DRURY LANE, 1671–1678

At Dorset Garden Shakespeare at last—so far as scenic adornment is concerned—came into his own. The first of his pieces, so readily lending itself to the operatic treatment desired and cultivated at this theatre, is thus glowingly described by Downes, the laudator of the Duke's Company. "The Tragedy of *Macbeth*, alter'd by Sir *William Davenant;* being drest in all it's Finery, as new Cloath's,

new Scenes, Machines, as flyings for the Witches; with all the Singing and Dancing in it: The first Compos'd by *Mr. Lock*, the other by Mr. *Channell* and Mr. *Joseph Preist ;* it being all Excellently perform'd, being in the Nature of an Opera, it Recompenc'd double the Expense; it proves still a lasting play."

In turning to the printed copy of Davenant's (?) work, one is grievously disappointed to find but little more scene-plotting than Downes gives in the above headlong sentence. There are many songs and dances provided for, and a few "flyings for the witches," but beyond the fact that first the Cauldron, then the Cave of the Witches "sinks," we get hardly a single scenic thrill or surprise. Once "Hecat's" machine descends, but I cannot tell whether from the flies or through a trap. Evidently Macbeth, though it was by way of "being in the Nature of an Opera," was not quite operatic enough to be published with verbal pictures of its operatic bedizenment—more's the pity!

Of Shadwell's Tempest we can have no doubt, both regarding its gorgeousness and its popular success. Listen to Downes: "The year after in 1673. The Tempest, or the Inchanted Island, made into an opera by *Mr. Shadwell,* having all New in it; as Scenes, Machines; particularly one Scene Painted with *Myriads* of *Ariel* Spirits; and another flying away, with a Table Furnisht out with Fruits, Sweet meats and all sorts of Viands; just when Duke *Trinculo* and his Companions were going to Dinner; all was things perform'd in it so Admirably well, that not any succeeding Opera got more Money."

In reading the word-pictures printed in the acting version, we almost see that production of so long ago. The Tempest, thus set before us, is decked out with a frontispiece, this time behind the curtain:

"The Front of the Stage is open'd [does this mean "freed of musicians"?] and the Band of 24 Violins, with the Harpsicals and Theorbo's which accompany the Voices, are plac't between the Pit and the Stage. While the Overture is playing, the Curtain rises, and discovers a new

Frontispiece, joyn'd to the great Pylasters, on each side of the Stage. This Frontispiece is a noble Arch, supported by large wreathed Columns of the Corinthian Order; the wreathings of the Columns are beautifi'd with Roses wound round them, and several Cupids flying about them. On the Cornice, just over the Capitals, sits on either side a Figure, with a Trumpet in one Hand, and a Palm in the Other, representing Fame. A little farther on the same Cornice, on each side of a Compass-pediment, lie a Lion and a Unicorn, the supporters of the Royal Arms of England. In the middle of the Arch are several Angels, holding the Kings Arms, as if they were placing them in the midst of the Compass-pediment. Behind this is the Scene, which represents a thick, Cloudy Sky, a very Rocky Coast, and a Tempestuous Sea in perpetual Agitation. This Tempest (suppos'd to be rais'd by Magick) has many dreadful Objects in it, as several Spirits in horrid shapes, flying down amongst the Sailers, then rising and crossing in the Air. And when the Ship is sinking, the whole House is darken'd, and a shower of Fire falls upon 'em. This is accompanied with Lightning, and several Claps of Thunder, to the end of the Storm." This scene is exactly reproduced in the frontispiece to the play in Rowe's edition of Shakespeare, in 1709.

After the Sailors have been thoroughly frightened by these prodigies, "In the midst of the Shower of Fire the Scene changes. The Cloudy Sky, Rocks and Sea vanish; and when the Lights return, discover that Beautiful part of the Island, which was the habitation of Prospero; 'Tis compos'd of three Walks of Cypress-trees, each Side-walk leads to a Cave, in one of which Prospero keeps his Daughters, in the other Hippolito: The Middle-Walk is of great depth, and leads to an open part of the Island."

This set is almost like one of the multiple scenes of the early Elizabethan drama, and accentuates the absurdity of the plot, since it is inconceivable that Hippolito and Prospero's girls, living in such close proximity, should not have met sooner.

In the second, and subsequent acts, the scene alternates with considerable regularity between "the wilder part of the Island, 'tis compos'd of divers sorts of Trees, and barren places, with a prospect of the Sea at a great Distance," in which passes the action involving Caliban and the Seamen, and a "Cypress Trees and Cave," which Prospero and the more gentlemanly and lady-like characters do most inhabit. Once "the scene changes to the Rocks, with the Arch of Rocks, and calm Sea. Musick playing on the Rocks."

The last scene of importance is that so highly lauded by Downes. It occurs in the Masque of Neptune and Amphitrite, which ends the show, and in the course of which "Neptune, Amphitrite, Oceanus and Tethys, appear in a Chariot Drawn with Sea-Horses; on each side of the Chariot are Sea-Gods and Goddes [*sic*], Tritons and Nereides." A dance of twelve Tritons follows, and then comes Downes's scene: "Scene changes to the Rising Sun, and a number of Aerial Spirits in the Air, Ariel flying from the Sun, advances towards the Pit." After a song, "Ariel speaks, hovering in the Air." This is very like one of the Caroline masques.

Considerable "magick" is used in the play. Ariel and Milcha "fly up and cross each other" in the air, and, in the comic scene, "a Table rises, and four Spirits with Wine and Meat enter, placing it, as they dance, on the Tables. The Dance ended, the Bottles vanish and the Table sinks again." All in all, the spectacle seems richer in "machines" than in scenery; but it was chiefly for such mechanical toys that Davenant had longed and for them that Dorset Garden Theatre had been built. Shadwell's Tempest, no doubt, was exactly what Davenant had desired his own to be.

SHAKESPEARE, 1678–1682

After this spectacular Tempest, setting a fashion for succeeding ages, even to our own day, in operatic treatment of Shakespeare's delicate play, Shakespeare went again, apparently, on the even tenor of stock-production, until in

1678–82, came that notable group of historico-political plays previously described. Of these the scenic prescriptions in the printed copies are meagre indeed. Troilus and Cressida, Caius Marius (Otway's Roman Romeo and Juliet) and Timon of Athens are printed utterly denuded of scenic hints. The two plays of Tate—King Lear and The Sicilian Usurper (Richard II)—were likewise, in all probability, put on without the slightest attempt at splendour of decoration; Durfey's disguising of Cymbeline (The Injured Princess) is equally barren of suggestion for our subject. Tate's Ingratitude of a Commonwealth, however, is the first Shakespearian play of the time that begins to offer us material on which to base our thesis. In Act II, the "Scene opening [i. e., by the drawing of a front "flat"], shews the Senate sitting in the Capitol; Coriolanus, in a white Robe [probably not in the least Roman in cut or style], as Candidate for the Consulship." This is dignified in the extreme, at least by suggestion; and I especially like this from the fourth Act: "Scene opening, shews Coriolanus seated in State, in a rich Pavilion, his Guards and Souldiers with lighted Torches, as ready to set fire on Rome; Petitioners as from the Citty offer him Papers, which he scornfully throws by: At length Menenius comes forward and speaks to him: Aufidius with Nigridius, making remarks on 'em." These two hints help considerably in a re-construction of the whole show. I find the scenes described dignified and imaginatively impressive; but the reader sees again that it is a matter of grouping and costume, not of canvas.

The second part of Crowne's Henry VI—The Miseries of Civil War—is not at all specific in stage-sets; but in the battle scene we have one unexpectedly realistic demand: "The Scene is drawn, and there appears Houses and Towns burning, Men and Women hang'd upon Trees, and children on the tops of Pikes"—all painted, I suppose, yet leaving the guess to be hazarded that the rest of the "decoration" —had we any description of it—would prove to be rather more than the stock castles, fields, and streets usually slapped together for any production not primarily operatic,

or capable, at least, like Coriolanus or Henry VIII, of impressive groupings of mobs, senators or nobles. In this last connection we can at least rest on the show that opens Act V: "London. Enter King Henry in a rich Robe, under a Canopy: The Queen and Prince followed by Warwick, and Guards, with their Swords drawn. Shouts and Acclamations."

Ravenscroft's Titus Andronicus, printed in 1687, after some encouraging details in the first act, plods on dully through three more, and offers, most unexpectedly, in the fifth, some stage directions that are positively illuminating as to the customs of the time.

Act I, Scene 1, starts promisingly with "Enter Saturninus and his Followers; Bassianus, and his, at another door. With drums and Trumpets: Senators above in the Capitoll." Can you not see it? "Sound of Drums and Trumpets, then Enter two of Titus's Sons, and then a dead Son, brought in Funeral Pomp, then two other Sons, all bearing his Armour, then Titus Andronicus and then Tamora, Queen of Goths, and her two Sons, Chiron and Demetrius, with Aron the Moor and others; the Armour is laid by the dead Son in Order.

"The Temple opens, a Glorious Tomb is discover'd where they place the Dead Corps, Warlike Musick all the while sounding . . . . . Sound Drums & Trumpets, and lay the Coffin in the Tomb. . . The Monument Closes."

In Scene 3 there is further imposing stage-business. "Enter Emilius, with other Tribunes and Senators: Gives Marcus a Robe, which he offers to Titus. Enter Saturninus and Bassianus, with Followers, at several Doors. Drums and Trumpets Sound."

This indicates a serious attempt at pageantry; but than Act V I know of no more interesting specimen of early stage usage. All the details are crowded in that last memorable banquet in Titus's house, where Death is the only guest who is filled to the full. First, "the Scene draws and discovers a Banquet," and at the proper moment "The Moor is discovered on a Rack," probably by drawing

another scene. "A curtain drawn," however, "discovers the heads and hands of Dem. and Chi. hanging up against the wall. Their bodys in Chains in bloody Linnen." This horrid aggregation of corpses is revealed, it will be noticed, in most interesting stage-ways. There may have been an upper balcony or window in the room where all had supped so full of horrors, for we find the stage directions "all disappear from above," and immediately after, "Enter all below." I take this to mean that Marcus had gone aloft as if to speak to the Romans outside. Or was the balcony merely that over the proscenium-door? Compare The Marplot of Mrs. Centlivre, with the use of the balcony, discussed on page 268.

THE FAIRY QUEEN

It is with much delight that I approach the account of The Fairy Queen, "an Opera Represented at the Queen's Theatre," in 1692. According to all I have read, this was about the most splendid of the "operas" produced during the fifty years of Betterton. The play part, with variations, is practically Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream, but at the end of each act, except the first, in style of opera or Italian *intermedii*, is a gorgeous conglomeration of scenery, machines, singing, dancing, spectacle, transformation, such as the stage probably had not seen up to that time. I shall confine my account to these act-endings. In Act II, the scene, a "wood by moonlight," changes to "a prospect of Grotto's, Arbors, and delightful Walks: the Arbors are adorned with all variety of Flowers, the Grottos supported by Terms, these lead to two Arbors on either side of the scene, of a great length whose prospect runs toward the two Angles of the House. Between these two Arbors is a great Grotto, which is continued by several Arches, to the further end of the House." There are songs, followed by a Masque, involving Night, Mystery, Secresie and Sleep and their attendances. A dance of the Followers of Night concludes all.

At the end of Act III, "the Scene changes to a Great

Wood; a long row of Trees on each side: a river in the middle: Two rows of lesser Trees of a different kind just on the side of the River, which meet in the middle, and make so many Arches: Two great Dragons make a Bridge over the River; their Bodies form two Arches, through which two Swans are seen in the River at a great Distance. Enter a Troop of Fauns, Dryades, and Naides," and indulge in a song in two parts . . . . . "While a Symphony's playing, the two Swans come swimming on through the Arches to the Bank of the River, as if they would Land; there turn themselves into Fairies and Dance; at the same time the Bridge vanishes, and the Trees that were Arch'd, raise themselves upright. Four Savages Enter, fright the Fairies away, and Dance an Entry." As if we had not yet had sufficient mixture of elements, Coridon and Mopsa enter and contribute a genuine pastoral song; and, for good measure, the act ends with a Song by a Nymph and a Dance of Hay Makers. I defy any one to name, offhand, another thing that could have been added to make the mixture more incongruous.

At the end of Act IV, "the Scene changes to a Garden of Fountains. A Sonata plays while the Sun rises, it appears red through the mist [in 1692, mark you!], as it ascends it dissipates the Vapours, and is seen in its full lustre: then the Scene is perfectly discovered, the Fountains enrich'd with gilding, and adorn'd with Statues: The View is terminated by a Walk of Cypress Trees which lead to a delightful Bower. Before the Trees stand rows of Marble Columns, which support many Walks which rise by stairs to the Top of the House; the Stairs are adorn'd with Figures on Pedestals, and Rails and Balasters on each side of 'em. Near the top, vast Quantities of Water break out of the Hills, and fall in mighty Cascades to the bottom of the Scene, to feed the Fountains, which are on each side. In the middle of the Stage is a very large Fountain, where the Water rises about twelve Foot. Then the 4 Seasons enter, with their several Attendants." After a song, "a Machine appears, the Clouds break from before it, and Phœbus

appears in a Chariot drawn by four Horses." He sings; there is a song by the four Seasons, and a dance by them. Is not this remarkable stage spectacle for a theatre lighted by wax (I suppose) in 1692?

The grand finale of the fifth act is the climax of such shows. Juno appears in a Machine drawn by Peacocks. "While a Symphony plays, the Machine moves forward, and the Peacocks spread their tails, and fill the middle of the Theater [stage]. Juno sings; the Machine ascends. While the Scene is darken'd, a single entry is danc'd; Then a Symphony is play'd; after that the Scene is Suddainly Illuminated, and discovers a transparent Prospect of a Chinese Garden; the Architecture, the Trees, the Plants, the Fruit, the Birds, the Beasts [a somewhat crowded garden?] quite different from what we have in this part of the World [undoubtedly, but were they Chinese?]. It is terminated by an Arch, through which is seen other Arches, with close Arbors, and a row of Trees to the end of the View. Over it is a hanging Garden, which rises by several ascents to the Top of the House [stage]; it is bounded on either side by pleasant Bowers, various Trees, and numbers of strange Birds flying in the Air, on the Top of a Platform is a Fountain, throwing up Water, which falls into a large Basin."

Into this not uncrowded scene come, first, a "Chinese" who sings, and then a Chinese woman, who also indulges in song. "Six Monkeys come from between the Trees, and Dance." The wonder grows: "Six Pedestals of China-work rise from under the Stage; they support six large Vases of Porcelain, in which are six China-Orange Trees. . . . . The Pedestals move toward the Front of the Stage, and the Grand Dance begins of Twenty-four Persons; then Hymen and the Two Women sing together." The grand dance, according to the information supplied in general directions, prefixed to the play, is by "twenty-four Chineses," a pleasing way of putting it. Another grand dance ends the show, music for which was written by Purcell; who, I wonder, designed the scenes?

If I were asked what all this Chinese mummery had to do with A Midsummer Night's Dream, I could only answer, "Nothing at all." If as stage-entertainment, I could say it was a tremendous success for people who wanted spectacle, song and dance. Downes and Gildon (in his Two Stages Compared) both join it with Dryden's opera King Arthur and Betterton's alteration of Fletcher's Prophetess as the "most excellently adorn'd with Scenes and Machines" known up to that time. But of The Fairy Queen Downes continues: "This in Ornaments was Superior to the other Two; especially in Cloaths, for all the Singers and Dancers, Scenes, Machines and Decorations, all most profusely set off; and excellently perform'd, chiefly the Instrumental and Vocal part Composed by the said Mr. *Purcel*, and Dances by Mr. *Priest*. The Court and Town were wonderfully satisfy'd with it; but the Expences in setting it out being so great, the Company got very little by it."

Perhaps the expense was the reason for the discontinuance of the operatic spectacle, before a public mad for such entertainment and largely fed on it by Betterton.

SHAKESPEARE AFTER THE SECESSION OF THE ACTORS, 1695–1710

It will be remembered that the last few years—and slightly beyond—of the Seventeenth Century, saw attempts to render more palatable, by "operatising," several of the comedies of Shakespeare. Charles Gildon's Measure for Measure, or Beauty the Best Advocate—"Shakspere according to the letter," as the author fatuously asserts—was one of the most pretentious of these efforts. I have already spoken of this delectable show as entailing a "Masque of the Loves of Dido and Æneas in four musical Entertainments." This progressive spectacle was presented before no less a person than the killjoy, Angelo, and thereby renounced at once any pretense to dramatic propriety; though, to be sure, it was "got up" for his birthday, a rather chilly festival.

Gildon's play was presented on the smaller stage of the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, to which the actors seceding from Drury Lane retired in 1695; Betterton played Angelo, and Mrs. Bracegirdle Isabella. Act I represents "a Large Hall in the Palace." The first part of the Masque, given at the end of the Act, calls for no scenery. Dido, Belinda and train enter, and sing songs, duets and choruses; Æneas enters with his train, and sings a duet with Dido; it is all intensely "pastoral" of the time, 1700. At the finale of Act II, we are treated to more show. Belinda and Dido enter in the midst of a storm. The Spirit of the Sorceress descends to Æneas and bids him away that night. "The Scene the Cave rises. The Witches appear. Eccho Dance of Furies." At the end of the Dance "Six Furies [very ungrammatically] Sinks. The four open [upon?] the Cave fly up. Scene changes to the Prison."

The third entertainment occurs in Act III. "Scene, the Ships. Enter Sorceress and Witches. Enter Saylors." After songs, "a Dance of Wizards, and Witches." The episode ends with a death-scene, apparently, for Dido. After skipping the fourth Act, the Masque is concluded in the great Hall of the Palace. "Phœbus Rises in his Chariot over the Sea. The Nereides out of the Sea." After songs, "Venus descends in her Chariot, the Tritons rise out of the Sea. The Tritons dance. The Nereids Dance. The Scene changes to a Grove. The Spring appears in an Arbour, with her Nymphs about her. Enter the Country Shepherds and Shepherdesses. Enter Morris Dancers." Soon the Spring and Nymphs dance. Finally, "Enter Mars and his Attendants on one side. Peace and her Train on the other." After this, there is only one possible conclusion: "A Grand Dance," and with it we close our account.

It is clear that this mummery is ridiculous for so gloomy and distressing a play as Measure for Measure. We may regard it as we regard ballet in the old-fashioned, tragic operas. Before we utterly condemn it, we should transport ourselves to the year 1700, when play-goers had not all learned to venerate (mechanically at least) the name of

Shakespeare, and when spectacle and song and dance were the chief means of attracting the thoughtless. Irving induced people to enter his theatre by magnificent scenery and costumes; he differed from Betterton only in the determination to make everything fitting to the play he was dealing with. But neither Betterton nor Irving depended entirely on Shakespeare's play; that is an ideal to which we are only gradually approaching.

Equally absurd is the masque introduced in Lansdowne's Jew of Venice, also performed at the Theatre in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields, by that same group of gentlemanly assassins of Shakespeare, Betterton and his company, in 1701.

Perhaps the success of Measure for Measure the year before invited to a similar attack on the bard, as soon as the company could afford it. In the second act, Lansdowne shows Shylock, Bassanio, Antonio and the rest at the feast to which Shylock was bid forth. "Scene opens, and discovers" them, "sitting as at an entertainment. Musick playing: During the Musick, Gratiano enters and takes his place." Soon a Masque is presented (Shylock at a Masque of Christians!). This is a very long affair, "Peleus and Thetis," involving Jupiter, Promotheus (so spelled throughout), the two name-characters and chorus. In the course of the action, "Jupiter appears descending. Promotheus is borne up to Heaven with Jupiter to a loud flourish of the trumpets." We are spared further scenic details.

Probably this was the sort of things Charles Burnaby expected to be provided for his Love Betray'd; or the Agreable Disappointment, acted at the same theatre in 1703. Oh, Betterton, Betterton! well might Shakespeare have prayed to be delivered from his friends. Burnaby had arranged for a Masque, which, as we know, the management had failed to put in. With Love Betray'd; or the Agreable Disapointment, behind which visor of a title lurks the shattered beauty of Twelfth Night, I am ready to close the discussion of Shakespeare as presented on the stage of Betterton (1660–1710).

It but remains to say that in the last years of this *régime*, the bills, as a reading of the Daily Courant shows, presented comparatively little Shakespeare, no attempted revival at all. It is pitiful in those days of Betterton's farewell to the stage, and Mrs. Barry's and Mrs. Bracegirdle's, to find plays frequently announced with only the laconic "all the parts to the best advantage," while De l'Epine, Du Ruel, and others of the foreign crew are blazoned across the columns.

One's imagination pictures vividly a forgotten scene in reading these by-gone announcements in the Courant. How gladly would one have attended a performance of Othello "for Mr. Dogget's benefit," at the Theatre in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields, on the 19th of February, 1707, when Betterton played Othello, and Mrs. Bracegirdle Desdemona, even though the effect was lessened by the introduction of much singing and dancing "between every act." Preferring the pure, one would no doubt have scorned the mixed elements at Drury Lane on the 5th of March, 1706, when was "reviv'd a Play, call'd, The Tempest; or The Inchanted Island. With a Masque compos'd by the late Mr. Henry Purcel, and perform'd by Mr. Leveridge, Mr. Hughs, Mr. Ramondon, Mrs. Lindsey, the Boy, and others: and Dancing by Monsieur du Ruel, Monsieur Cherrier, Mrs. Du Ruel, and Mrs. Santlow. The part of Trincalo to be perform'd by Mr. Estcourt, for his own Benefit: With a new Epilogue (By Trincalo) to the Brothers of the Bottle."

Really, one might as well have attended, three nights before, "an Opera, call'd, King Arthur, or the Brittish Worthy," with Purcell's music and Leveridge and the Boy, and all the rest. But think of that glorious performance of Julius Cæsar, previously mentioned, at the Haymarket, on January 14, 1707, with Betterton, Wilks, Booth, Mills, Verbruggen, Mrs. Barry and Mrs. Bracegirdle! I am afraid that after such an array of actors in such a play, even Macbeth, on the 16th of April of the same year at Drury-Lane, would seem rather tame, especially as all the best of the company were now at the Haymarket; what,

then, would signify that it was presented "with the original Scenes, Machines, and other Decorations, and the Witches Musick, both Vocal and Instrumental. By the best Performers."

Clearly this performance would pale its ineffectual fire before the elaborate revival of the same play at the Haymarket on December 29th of the same year—1707. This performance again strikes the imagination as reaching high-water mark for Shakespeare plain and undiluted, in the first decade of the Eighteenth Century. One revels in the thought of it, though its dignity is affronted by the bit of Cibberian nonsense appended to it by way of satire on the current craze for things foreign. It will be observed that the production involves several new scenes proper to the play; evidently the management had learned the lesson from their previous experience, at the opening of the new theatre, when, according to Downes, they revived "half a Score of their old Plays, *Acted* in old Cloaths, the Company brought from *Lincolns-Inn Fields*. The Audiencies [*sic*] falling off extremly with entertaining the Gentry with such old Ware, whereas, had they Open'd the House at first, with a good new *English* Opera, or a new Play; they wou'd have preserv'd the Favour of Court and City, and gain'd Reputation and Profit to themselves." But to the bill for Macbeth:

"At the Queen's Theatre in the Hay-Market, this present Monday, being the 29th of December, will be Reviv'd, the Tragedy of Mackbeth. The part of Mackbeth to be perform'd by Mr. Betterton. And the Parts of the King by Mr. Keene, Macduff by Mr. Wilks, Banquo by Mr. Mills, Lenox by Mr. Booth, . . . Heccate by Mr. Johnson, 1. Witch by Mr. Norris, 2. Witch by Mr. Bullock, 3. Witch by Mr. Bowan, Lady Mackbeth by Mrs. Barry, Lady Macduff by Mrs. Rogers. And all the other Parts to the Best advantage. With the Addition of several new Scenes proper to the Play. With the last New Vocal Epilogue, Compos'd and perform'd by the famous Signior Cibberini,

after the newest English, French, Dutch, and Italian Manner."

CONCLUSION

This is about the kind of thing announced regularly for Shakespeare through the years of the decade 1700–10, illuminated by the pages of the Daily Courant. It will be seen that he had ceased to be "operatised," as in The Fairy Queen, and that only Macbeth and The Tempest survived in anything like spectacular glory; for the rest, he went on the even tenor of stock production—and none too frequently at that.

The record thus laboriously transcribed shows emphatically that scene-painters and carpenters exercised their art almost exclusively on those works of Shakespeare which lent themselves particularly to the operatic treatment inaugurated by Davenant and carried on by Betterton. Macbeth, The Tempest, A Midsummer Night's Dream, Measure for Measure (perhaps The Law against Lovers had some mummery that we know not of), The Merchant of Venice,—with one exception, comedies, and that exception (Macbeth) offering tempting opportunities with its "sinking caves and flying witches,"—were especially singled out for elaborate presentation. The only indications I can find of pageantry employed for more legitimate purposes are to be discovered in casual directions in Crowne's Miseries of Civil War, Tate's Ingratitude of a Commonwealth, and Ravenscroft's Titus Andronicus. But what reasons have we to fear the Greeks bearing gifts! Of course nobody cares about Titus Andronicus or possibly even about Henry VI, part III; therefore we may be willing to take those plays heavily diluted with Ravenscroft and Crowne, if scenery be thrown into the bargain. But what amount of stately Roman procession or grouping will compensate for Coriolanus filed down by Tate?

Meanwhile, the great plays of Shakespeare—the stock-plays, as Downes puts it—continued to be acted, I am

sure, with the best scenery the house afforded—from the storage-rooms; nothing by way of outer adornment was needed when Betterton acted Hamlet at one theatre, or Hart acted Othello or Brutus at the other. The same thing happened in the case of plays then attributed in blissful ignorance to Beaumont and Fletcher, jointly; only such invitations to scenic splendour as The Island Princess, three times altered to fit scenery, and The Prophetess, were decked out with lavish display. It may be that Shakespeare was finally saved from the scene-painter and the machine-maker (particularly the latter) by the introduction, in the age of Cibber, of the Pantomime. They could do their worst on that. and never a drop of poetry spilled—a blessed thought.

To close this chapter, let me pick up the tangled skein I let fall a minute ago, and point out as forcefully as I may that in all the scenic extravagances I have reviewed, it was more the machinist than the painter who was depended on to amaze court and city by exhibitions of unexampled magnificence and daring. He was god of the show as well as of the machine. The Siege of Rhodes lacked machines, we are told, but, after the opening of Dorset Garden, one might say the shows lacked anything *but* machines. The wonder is that these clumsy engines could be manipulated so satisfactorily, when with all our modern helps such things often hitch palpably, to the distress of sensitive spectators.

CHAPTER VI

COSTUMES

TESTIMONY OF PEPYS AND DOWNES

As to the dresses of the actors the reader will be but little surprised to learn that, certainly at first, and probably throughout the period, no pretense was made to elaborateness or beauty, except on special occasions. Stock-costumes are proverbially shabby, and Pepys's evidence is valuable on this head. On March 19, 1665–66, during the time of the great plague, he records a visit to the King's house, then of course closed to the public: "My business here," says the inquisitive diarist, "was to see the inside of the stage and all the tiring-rooms and machines; and, indeed, it was a sight worth seeing. But to see their clothes, and the various sorts, and what a mixture of things there was; here a wooden leg, there a ruff, here a hobby horse, there a crown, would make a man split himself with laughing; and particularly Lacy's wardrobe, and Shotrell's. But then again, to think how fine they show on the stage by candle-light, and how poor things they are to look at too near hand, is not pleasant at all. The machines are fine, and the paintings very pretty." On October 5, 1667, Pepys is more familiar with the players, and Mrs. Knepp, his particular friend among the actresses, took him up to the tiring rooms, and "to the women's shift, where Nell was dressing herself. . . . But Lord! to see how they were both painted would make a man mad, and did make me loath them. . . . and how poor the men are in clothes, and yet what a show they make on the stage by candle-light, is very observable."

These things were viewed at the Theatre Royal; at the Duke's house matters may have been better regulated. Even here, however, if we may judge from Downes's his-

tory, only special productions were decked out with new costumes. In the days at Lincoln's Inn Fields—Pepys's days at the theatre—Love and Honour and the Earl of Orrery's Henry V were especially distinguished. The first, says Downes, was "richly c[l]oathed; the King giving Mr. *Betterton* his Coronation Suit; the Duke of *York* giving Mr. *Harris* his, and my Lord of *Oxford* gave Mr. *Joseph Price* his." Betterton and Harris wore the same royal robes in Henry V, but the Earl of Oxford's suit now adorned the person of the better-known actor, Smith. Of Henry VIII, Downes states: "This Play by Order of Sir *William Davenant*, was all new cloath'd in proper Habits. The King's was new, all the Lords, the Cardinals, the Bishop, the Doctors, Proctors, Lawyers, Tipstaves, new Scenes."

At Dorset Garden, from 1671 on, Downes frequently lauds the costumes: Macbeth, "in all it's Finery, as new Cloath's, new Scenes, Machines, as flyings for the Witches"; in February, 1673, "the long-expected opera of *Psyche*, came forth in all her Ornaments; new Scenes, new Machines, new Cloaths, new *French* Dances." . . . The Fairy Queen in 1692 had new "Cloaths, for all the Singers and Dancers."

SLIGHT ATTEMPT AT HISTORICAL ACCURACY

In general, it may be asserted, without hesitation, that there was but little, if any, attempt at historical accuracy in the dressing of these historical plays. It goes without saying, for instance, that Charles II's coronation robes could hardly be in the style of Henry V's, two centuries and a half earlier; if by chance they might be assumed to be suitable for both monarchs, these clothes could hardly be worn by the Italian warriors in Davenant's Love and Honour. Yet it must not be rashly assumed that there was no differentiation. It is extremely probable that most plays were costumed in exactly the garb of the actors' time; but the men in Roman and Greek tragedies wore the dress *à la Romaine*, and, in oriental dramas, some approximation was made toward what was assumed to be oriental

modes. M. Bapst, whose Essai sur l'Histoire du Théâtre is apparently the final word on staging in France, shows that, at this time, when the theatre of the court of Louis XIV was most influencing the theatre of England, similar customs prevailed across the channel. The habit had come down from the days even of the Mystery Plays of dressing the characters richly in the garb of the day; God appeared as Pope or Emperor, the holy women as ladies of the Court decked out for a ball at the palace. Is not this, too, the usage followed by the great painters—the old masters of Italy, France, and the Netherlands? Yet, in all these art-expressions, it was dimly felt that ancient Romans and Orientals were not quite contemporary people; hence arose for men of the stage the three distinct dresses for (1) Europeans, (2) ancient Romans, Greeks or Hebrews, and (3) more definitely Asiatic heroes. In the time of which I am writing, the ancient warrior appeared in the costume *à la Romaine,* which was what contemporary artists deemed the dress of a Roman general to have been—a close-fitting cuirass, buskins, and a helmet with an exceedingly high plume of feathers; fearful gloves went with it. The Orientals must have something like a turban and a long flowing robe. Every other character, with a few exceptions, wore the dress of the day, the richer the better. All, regardless of time or place or dramatic propriety, wore the fashionable wig of the hour, whether Charles II's or William III's. In Samuel Pordage's Herod and Mariamne, produced at Dorset Garden (1674), Salome enters "in Mans Habit." In an ensuing quarrel, the stage direction gravely apprises us "Her Perriwig falls of in making a Pass at Tyrid [ates]"—in Herod's time and place, mark you!

EXCEPTIONS TO THE GENERAL RULE

The few exceptions as to costume are interesting. On the English stage one was Falstaff, who undoubtedly continued to wear something like the costume fastened upon him in Shakespeare's day—the high boots, loosely falling

to the knee, the jerkin with points, the round hat with a feather, the big gloves with wide wrists. Two other characters invariably fixed were Richard III and Henry VIII; the former apparently appeared in a costume supposedly Elizabethan, with doublet and hose, the latter in something approaching a resemblance to Holbein's portrait. I do not know of any other cases of conventional dressing among the male characters; I am inclined to think, however, that Dame Quickly was unique among the women in being differentiated by a peaked Elizabethan hat.

Precisely the same condition prevailed in France. Bapst shows, in Molière, the unvarying costume for the stock characters. "Dans ces pièces, le même costume se retrouve toujours: le Docteur a celui des maîtres de l'université de Boulogne; le capitaine Fracasse celui de quelque brave de Brescia; le Pantalon, type du vieillard grotesque et vicieux, la robe des sénateurs de Venice; les autres ont les costumes populaires en Italie, qui ont fait leur apparition en France dès la fin du xvi^{e} siècle. . . ."

THE DRESS OF ACTRESSES

Meantime, the actresses, in general, wore exactly what they pleased—the more magnificent the better. Regardless of dramatic propriety, they loaded themselves with silks and fine array, and with glittering jewels; but did not Watteau's shepherdesses do the same thing? and Rubens's holy women? They—the actresses—never dreamed, apparently, of adopting anything like historical *vraisemblance;* if Antony wore the dress *à la Romaine,* Cleopatra wore the silken magnificence of a lady of the court of Charles II or of William III. This custom continued until near the close of the Eighteenth Century, in France, as well as in England. The extraordinary tragic dress inveighed against by Addison, and seen in portraits of many Eighteenth-Century actors—enormous panniers and train for the women, ridiculous skirts and cloak for the men, colossal head-dress for both—probably did not reach its height of absurdity in

the age of Betterton. This towering head-dress, composed largely of what came to be called a "plume of feathers," many high-flaring ostrich plumes on helmet, or hat, or crown, nevertheless in some form came in with the Restoration. I say came in with it, for I will not force to my purpose either Hamlet's remark about the "forest of feathers" or the reference in Thomas Randolph's Muses Looking-Glass (1638), in which two Puritans, Bird, the featherman, and Mistress Flowerdew, wife to a haberdasher, came to the [Elizabethan] playhouse to sell their wares. Bird distinctly says, "I have their [the players'] custom too for all their feathers." What kind of feathers? Possibly only moderate-sized feathers for Elizabethan caps of ordinary wear, and therefore I leave them to their fate. I am moved to this, by unexpected aid *via* Ireland in 1662, in a letter from—of all people in the world—the matchless Orinda, who writes under date of December 23rd, "We have Plays here [in Dublin] in the newest Mode, and not ill acted; only the other Day, when Othello was play'd, the Doge of Venice and all his Senators came on the Stage with Feathers in their Hats, which was like to have chang'd the Tragedy into a Comedy." That is, the audience simply laughed at the sight, or would have done so, "but that the Moor and Desdemona acted their Parts well." But Orinda had seen such a forest of plumes before in London. "Judge then," she writes, "of the Humour I was in, by what happen'd once to your self, when we saw the Maid's Tragedy together," at the King's Theatre, I take it, where Hart and Mohun and Wintersel and Mrs. Rebecca Marshall played the leading parts, probably under this staggering gear. Finally, we must not forget Crimalhaz's "Plume of Feathers" in the most compromising scene in The Empress of Morocco (page 120).

So much for plumes. Yet that as a whole the actress did not occasionally alter her attire to suit the occasion could not be maintained in view of Smith's rare and interesting picture of the Indian Queen, reproduced on the page opposite. This plate is supposed to represent the famous

THE INDIAN QUEEN (USUALLY PRINTED AS A PORTRAIT OF MRS. BRACEGIRDLE)

From a mezzotint by J. Smith

Mrs. Bracegirdle, and in subject is as notable for fuss as for feathers. In connection with the latter one can quote with interest if not with much belief Mrs. Behn's account of Surinam in Oroonoko, or, the Royal Slave: "Then we trade for Feathers, which they order into all Shapes, make themselves little short Habits of 'em, and glorious Wreaths for their Heads, Necks, Arms and Legs, whose Tinctures are unconceivable; I had a Set of these presented to me, and I gave 'em to the King's Theatre; it was the Dress of the Indian *Queen*, infinitely admir'd by Persons of Quality; and was inimitable." This, of course, refers to the original representative of the part, Nell Gwyn, and not to Mrs. Bracegirdle, whose dress, indeed, displays considerable modification from the Behn description. As to fuss, the little pages holding up the train were an invariable accompaniment of the tragedy queen, at least in Bracegirdle's time, as we learn from Addison; a more interesting pair could not have been handed down to us by the engraver. How proud they are, and what fun they are having! The only authentic reference to the train-bearing page, to be mentioned often in the next two parts of this work, is in Mrs. Behn's Roundheads (Dorset Garden, 1682). In Act II, Scene I, Lady Fleetwood enters, "her train born up." This play, however, is not a tragedy.

COSTUME À LA ROMAINE

That the costume *à la Romaine* came early to the Restoration stage would seem to be proved by Pepys's entry of March 8, 1663–64, on a performance of Heraclius: "The garments like Romans very well. . . . . But at the beginning, at the drawing up of the curtain, there was the finest scene of the Emperor and his people about him, standing in their fixed and different postures, in their Roman habitts, above all that ever I saw at any of the theatres." On November 19, 1668: "My wife and I by hackney, to the King's playhouse . . . . . and saw Catiline's Conspiracy . . . . most in fine clothes; and a fine

scene of the Senate, and of a fight, as ever I saw in my life." It may be assumed that the dress of the people in the senate, in this last play, was still the conventional cuirass, helmet, etc., *à la Romaine;* the toga, we are credibly informed, was not used on the French stage until Talma introduced it, or on the English until Young and Kean appeared in it, in the first quarter of the Nineteenth Century. Yet we must not be too sure of this, in view of Pepys's statement on December 11, 1667, concerning the same play: "The King gives them £500 for robes, there being, as they say, to be sixteen scarlett robes." The delay in production was explained by "Knepp," on January 11th following: "She . . . told me . . . . of Catelin, which she thinks, for want of the clothes which the King promised them, will not be acted for a good while." As a matter of fact, it was not acted till December, Pepys, on the 19th, seeing the second performance. The question arises as to whether the lax king was responsible for the delay, and whether he finally provided the sixteen "scarlett robes"; and this leads to the further question as to why the king was expected to provide them in any case, and how much of this thing he did in general. The statement of Downes as to the actors' wearing the coronation robes comes in as a by-question. Whether or not the actors wore robes in Catiline and not wholly the costume *à la Romaine*, one can be sure they were not—"scarlett" or of another colour—anything at all like the Roman toga; nothing is more unlike a toga than your ordinary robe, as an early print of the actors in Addison's Cato convinces.

The evidence concerning all this matter of stage-dress during the age of Betterton is so slight that it need detain us but little further. I call attention, however, to one word used by Downes in speaking of the "getting up" of Henry VIII: it "was new cloathed in *proper* Habits." I believe, by this adjective, he means that Henry VIII was dressed in clothes, to use Pepys's expression, "as we see him painted"; Downes also assures us that all the officers, religious and civil, were also properly clothed. I have no

idea that minor differences of Henry VIII's time would be indicated by these robes, but I believe, at least, that some attempt was made to make them suit the real dignitaries portrayed. The reader, more learned than I in such matters, may study the details of the costume of Harris as Cardinal Wolsey, for corroboration or rebuttal of my theory. About the Lords, I am not so sure, and that for reasons about to be cited. Before leaving the discussion, however, I beg to cite Pepys on August 17, 1667, concerning Queen Elizabeth's Troubles, which "only shews the true garbe of the Queen in those days just as we see Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth painted."

PICTURES IN ROWE'S SHAKESPEARE, 1709

The great source of my belief in regard to the costuming of Shakespeare in Betterton's time is the series of frontispieces to the plays in Rowe's edition of the plays, in 1709. This first edition of the poet as a series of volumes (as distinct from the quartos and folios) throws, I think, much light on a question really shrouded in darkness. Each play has a picture, portraying some important episode in the action, and in the dressing of the characters is positively illuminating as to the habits of the period. The theory that the whole series of plates represents stage traditions is borne out by the fact that many of the scenes are conceived in terms of the theatre; the battle scene of Coriolanus, for instance, and the country landscapes of the comedies are painted as nearly as possible like back flats of the theatre. They seem to have but little to do with the actual situation. Furthermore, the illustration of The Tempest is so exactly like the scene of shipwreck as described in the Shakespeare-Davenant-Dryden-Shadwell arrangement that it can leave no possible doubt of its being suggested by the stage-setting rather than by a reading of Shakespeare's text. And is not at least one ghost in the Richard III drawing rising through a stage-trap? Finally, Rowe, the editor of the volume, was a playwright and a man inti-

mately associated with the theatre; what more need be said?

As to costumes these engravings are really significant. In them, the women all wear the dress of the time of Queen Anne; so do the men, except in special cases enumerated above. The Roman and Greek warriors wear the dress *à la Romaine;* Falstaff appears in the first part of Henry IV in the traditional Elizabethan garb, Bardolph and the other followers in what appears to be the rough dress of lower people in 1709; in the picture for the second part of the same play, Dame Quickly wears the peaked hat previously mentioned, but Poins and Hal, disguised as drawers, are topped by the huge wigs of Queen Anne's day. In the illustration for Henry VIII, the King and Wolsey may be regarded as dressed with some degree of historical fitness; but what of the hostile lords in the background? Would their costume not better fit the court of Queen Anne than that of the Tudor sovereign? When it comes to plays of less definite setting, there is not the faintest effort, apparently, to arrive at truth. Macbeth watches the line of Banquo in a costume that Marlborough might have worn; Hamlet reproves his mother in clothes that Steele or Addison might have duplicated. Even Othello is dressed as a general who might have fought at Ramillies or Blenheim.

I am convinced that precisely the same practices prevailed on the stage, at this time. The picture of Betterton and Mrs. Barry in Hamlet, hanging in the Garrick Club, in London, shows the actor in a clerical neckcloth, and the whole dress, as Mr. Lowe says, distinctly ministerial; Mrs. Barry as the Queen, wears a crimson velvet robe, over a white satin underskirt. This ministerial costume for Hamlet, with modifications of changing styles in succeeding generations, went down to the days of Garrick. Now looking at the costume of Hamlet in the Rowe edition, do you not receive exactly the same impression? It is this continuance of tradition to the Garrick days that prompts me to assert that characters like Macbeth, Hamlet, Lear, etc., with all the surrounding *dramatis personæ,* were always

FRONTISPIECES TO MACBETH, HAMLET, HENRY IV (PART II) AND THE TEMPEST

Rowe's Shakespeare, 1709

arrayed in habits of the time of the representation. Garrick dressed Macbeth like an officer of the days of George III; he dressed Hamlet like a clergyman or scholar of the same time, powdered wig and all; the portrait of Betterton, the pictures in Rowe, and the tendency to persistence of the stage custom, all lead me to infer that the contemporaneousness of dressing—with exceptions—that prevailed in Garrick's day was inherited from the age of Betterton.

POSSIBLE ATTITUDE OF SHAKESPEARE

Meantime, let us not delude ourselves with the belief that these things would have distressed Shakespeare. The Elizabethan stage was probably more to blame in this respect than was even that of Betterton; historical accuracy —which even to-day is probably much softened and conventionalised—was a thing unknown to Shakespeare himself. Besides, what *is* the correct attire for Hamlet, Lear, Macbeth, and their respective friends and enemies? Something that was never worn except in the land of imagination, I suspect. At any rate, shall we shed tears over the George III Macbeth of Garrick, when we recall the utter carelessness as to such things in the plays themselves? Who causes Casca to inform Brutus and Cassius that Cæsar "plucked me ope his doublet"? or who put into the mouth of Coriolanus those words about "doublets that hangmen would Bury with those that wore them"? The man who did that had no hesitation in making Roman Enobarbus assert in Cleopatra's Egypt that "your old smock brings forth a new petticoat," or—funniest of all—using in Pericles the line "Here to-morrow, with his best ruff on." And speaking of dressing Hamlet in proper Danish garb of a past historic time, who makes Ophelia describe the careless prince as "with his doublet all unbraced, no hat upon his head"? And who describes an actor as "a robustious periwig-pated fellow"?

Obviously, Shakespeare never dreamed of his characters —even the Roman and the Greek—as wearing anything

but Elizabethan clothes; to him, as to Betterton, Cibber, Garrick and Kemble, at first, they were just human beings, important enough to make the dress a matter of indifference. We shall not be far wrong if we call back by imagination the characters of Shakespeare, on the Restoration stage, as dressed like the lords and ladies of King Charles's court; by the end of the century, they could have attended a court function of William III without seeming very different from the other guests—unless, to use Pepys's phrase, the material of their dress was a little poor by daylight.

BOOK II

THE AGE OF CIBBER

(1710–1742)

CHAPTER VII

THE THEATRES

DRURY LANE

Betterton died in 1710, seventy years old, and at a time when his successors were well grounded in that popularity which they were never to lose so long as they remained on the stage. I have in a former chapter indicated the successive stages of chicane, manœuvre and politics by which Drury Lane finally came into the possession of the triumvirate—Booth, Wilks and Cibber—under whose guidance was inaugurated what the last-named of the three calls the twenty years of the prosperity of the theatre. The names of Sir John Vanbrugh, Betterton, Swiney, Christopher Rich and Collier belong to the history of those petty years from 1705 to 1710, but by the time the three fine actors above had assumed full control, the fortunes of Drury Lane were assured for the two decades so highly extolled by Cibber. By 1732, Booth and Wilks had departed from the scene, and Cibber deemed it prudent to sell his share in the theatre; there was, therefore, an interregnum between the passing of the old order and the decisive appearance of Garrick in the season of 1741–42. For our purposes, however, especially as Cibber continued to re-emerge for special engagements in his favourite characters, the entire period from the death of Betterton in 1710 to the first season of Garrick on the London stage in 1741–42 may be designated by the name of Colley Cibber, the longest-lived of the three actors who lent so much dignity and art to the stage during the twenty best years of that time. James Quin was the only actor between the date of Booth's and Wilks's retirement and the début of

Garrick who could be compared with them, and he never quite won a position sufficient to warrant us in bestowing his name on the interval between the quenching of the earlier lights and the rise of Garrick's star.

For three seasons after Cibber and his colleagues began their memorable control of Drury Lane, that house was the only theatre offering regular dramatic entertainment. With the death of Queen Anne and the accession of George I in 1714, a change was effected in the management. According to Cibber, plays were "silenc'd for six Weeks." The managers, meantime, looking about them, found an opportunity to rid themselves of the objectionable Collier. Since they knew the pension of £700 a year, paid to him, must go to somebody, "they imagined the Merit of a *Whig* might now have as good a Chance for getting into it, . . and they apply'd themselves to Sir *Richard Steele*. . . . Accordingly, Sir *Richard* apply'd himself to the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Hero of his Heart, who, upon the first mention of it, obtain'd it of his Majesty for Sir *Richard*, and the former Menagers who were Actors. Collier," says Cibber delightedly, "we heard no more of." Later, Steele changed the license for this theatre into a patent, which ultimately came into the hands of Cibber, Booth, Wilks, and their heirs. In expectation of the prosperity ensuing on the grant of the patent, the managers refurbished the theatre, as we learn from the advertisement in the Daily Courant of October 6, 1715: "His Majesty's Company of Comedians give Notice, That the Middle of next Week they will begin to act Plays, every Day, as usual; they being oblig'd to lye still so long, to finish the new Decorations of the House."

This patent undoubtedly regularised the company and was of great service; nevertheless, until his death in 1729, I suspect the genial, spendthrift Steele was more a hindrance than a help to the actors. Once, in 1719, having opposed the Duke of Newcastle in the question of the Peerage Bill, Steele was the cause of a temporary closing of the theatre.

THE THEATRE IN LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS

During the entire period now under discussion (1710–42) Drury Lane continued to be the leading theatre in London. Nevertheless, its monopoly lasted only for three years after Cibber and his colleagues assumed control. In 1714, by the same change of ministry, the old patentee, Christopher Rich, appeared again, very ready for action. He had been rebuilding elaborately the old theatre in Portugal Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. Though, as Cibber says, he might not have ventured to open in Queen Anne's time, "in the following Reign, as it did not appear he had done anything to forfeit the Right of his Patent [which he still possessed], he prevail'd with Mr. *Craggs* the Younger (afterwards Secretary of State) to lay his case before the King, which he did in so effectual a manner" . . . . that the "Suspension of the Patent" was "taken off." The new theatre, consequently, opened on December 18, 1714. Christopher Rich, however, did not live to see this great event; his son, John, later the famous Harlequin, succeeded him, and guided the fortunes of this theatre and subsequently of Covent Garden till beyond the middle of the century. The house—the last of several in that situation or near it—was, according to Davies, finely decorated; the scenes were new, the stage more extended than that at Drury Lane, and superbly adorned with looking glasses on both sides. Percy Fitzgerald has collected an interesting contemporary account of the interior. From it we learn that the elder Rich, shortly before his death, invited several people to view the decorations, then completed. "Several of the most eminent painters met at the Theatre Royal, Lincoln's Inn Fields, to take a survey of the ceiling, the house being thoroughly lighted for that purpose. Over the stage is represented Apollo and the Muses. Over the pit a magnificent piece of architecture, where is seen a group of figures leaning over a long gallery, viz. Shakespeare, Jonson, etc., from the originals. They seem in conference with Betterton. The artists have given their opinion that it

excels anything of that kind, both as to design and beauty. We hear the said theatre will be finished and opened some time next week." The Censor of April 13, 1717, says of a visit to the new theatre, "the greatest Pleasure that I receiv'd through the whole *Play*, was to observe those *Original Pictures* that were the Ornaments of the Gallery and could not help taking notice that the Noseless Sir *William Davenant* had more fearful Starers from the *Pit* than any of the rest of his Fraternity." John Rich, in his prologue, spoken at the opening, refers to the theatre as a "stately pile" which his father had "raised by slow degrees."

This theatre became the great rival of Drury Lane; though always halting behind it in the presentation of the "legitimate," it surpassed Cibber's house in all matters of show, especially "pantomimical," as contemporaries would have said. Through the rest of the second decade, all of the third, and two years of the fourth, of the Eighteenth Century, it existed in emulous operation against the older house; curiously enough, its passing, in 1732, almost exactly synchronised with the cessation of the Cibber-Wilks-Booth activities at the other theatre. When its successor in Covent Garden was ready for occupancy, the triumvirate of Drury Lane was almost become food for memory.

THE THEATRE IN COVENT GARDEN, 1732

In 1731, John Rich, "on account of Lincoln's Inn Fields having fallen into decay" (it must have been very flimsily rebuilt), set out to build a new theatre. Drury Lane, as Percy Fitzgerald says, was now an old and old-fashioned house (once, as Cibber shows, its enemies tried to damage it by circulating a report that the walls were insecure and likely to fall); it was also a first experiment in theatre building; so there was ample room for a new venture, guided by taste and enterprise. In January, 1731 (I am still quoting from Fitzgerald), we learn that "a subscription to aid Mr. Rich in building a new theatre in Covent Garden, amounting to 6000*l.* was subscribed. It was to be speedily begun by that ingenious architect, James Shepherd, Esq., his

draught being much approved of already." The building was in Bow Street, Covent Garden, the site of the present Royal Opera, and was raised on land rented (at first) from the Duke of Bedford for £100 per annum. The building was thus just around the corner from Drury Lane Theatre; and from the same situation the two famous houses still cry out their wares in opposition, especially during the opera season.

The new theatre, according to Mr. H. Barton Baker (History of the London Stage), "was decorated in gorgeous style by the Italian artist, Amiconi, who painted a magnificent ceiling, representing the gods banqueting in the clouds." . . . Yet the Daily Journal of September 16, 1732, says that Amiconi is to show his art in the ceiling and . . . has prepared a design in which Apollo is represented in an assembly of the Muses dignifying Shakespear with the laurel." The scenery, "new and extremely well painted," according to Davies, was by Harvey and Lambert. "It was but a small theatre," continues Mr. Baker; "from the stage to the back of the boxes the length was only fifty-one feet, and it would hold when full not more than £200, although space was economized to such an extent that only twenty-one inches was allowed to each person." Two feet, Fitzgerald adds, is the least space that offers comfort. However small, nevertheless Aaron Hill, writing under date of November 6, 1733, asserts that it "is larger, by one part in three," than the rival house. Also, "it is more commodious for going into, and coming out of." The prices the first night were—boxes, 5s.; pit, 3s. 6d.; galleries, 2s. and 1s., and seats on the stage [note this] 10s. 6d. There were two entrances, one under the Piazza, and the other in Bow Street. The chief entrance later sported a fine colonnade, as does its successor to-day.

THE LITTLE THEATRE IN THE HAYMARKET, 1720

These two famous theatres—Covent Garden and Drury Lane—until the end of Cibber's career constituted the sole field of "legitimate" endeavour in London. On their stages

the great actors appeared; on their stages alone could the great plays be legally produced. This monopoly was conferred by the patent of Rich, really the inheritor of the combined patents of Davenant and Killigrew, and the patent granted to Cibber and his partners shortly after the death of Steele in 1729. On no other stage could Shakespeare be played, except by subterfuge of one sort or another.

Nevertheless, in the early days of John Rich and of the triumvirate, desperate effort was made, in building new houses, to break down this monopoly. The first attempt came in 1720, when John Potter, a carpenter, purchased in the Haymarket the site of an old inn, called the King's Head, and built on it what was thereafter always known as the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, to distinguish it from the big Opera-house across the way. The building, decoration, scenery and dresses cost in all but fifteen hundred pounds. This house became a very Cinderella among theatres, exhibiting rope-dancers and various similar entertainers. Yet here Fielding, the novelist, from 1730 to 1737, produced a series of burlesques, beginning with Tom Thumb the Great. He was finally suppressed by the Censorship Act of 1737, which for a long time closed all theatres except the two patent houses. To this little Haymarket the actors who revolted from the tyranny of the patentees sometimes carried their pique and their spleen; hither twice Theophilus Cibber flew on the wings of wrath, once, at least, in 1744, distinguishing himself by the first production in eighty years (a hundred he said) of something more nearly like Romeo and Juliet than was Otway's Caius Marius.

THE ACTIVITIES OF ODELL AND GIFFARD

A second attempt to break the monopoly of the patents was instituted in 1729 by Thomas Odell, who (again according to Mr. H. Barton Baker), "after the passing of the Licensing Act was made Deputy Licenser of Plays in the Lord Chamberlain's Office." This mere amateur "converted a silk-throwster's shop in Leman Street, Whitechapel, into a theatre," and engaged as his manager an

actor from Dublin, named Henry Giffard. Odell, not understanding anything about theatres, very soon transferred his rights in the building to Giffard, who, as Chetwood says, ". . . caused to be built (in Ayliffe Street close by) an entire new, beautiful, convenient theatre, by the same architect with that of Covent Garden: where dramatic pieces were performed with the utmost elegance and propriety." Such is the usual account of the theatre or theatres in Goodman's Fields. Mr. Watson Nicholson, however, in his Struggle for a Free Stage in London, very credibly argues for only one theatre in that famous district. Giffard's "second" theatre, Mr. Nicholson believes, was but Odell's house altered and re-decorated.

After the passing of the Licensing Act, Giffard "hit upon the expedient of issuing tickets at one, two, and three shillings for a concert 'at the late theatre in Ayliffe Street,' and performing a play *gratis* between the two parts. The plays selected were those of the regular dramatic repertory, yet no one seems to have interfered with him, Whitechapel probably being considered at that time a part of the metropolis far too remote to come into rivalry with Covent Garden." Here Giffard made some interesting revivals, notably one of The Winter's Tale (not acted for a hundred years). But his theatre is forever famous because there, on October 9, 1741, appeared for the first time regularly on the London stage, David Garrick. The play was Richard III, and it was "sandwiched" between the two parts of "a concert of vocal and instrumental music." For the rest of the season, the gentry and the nobility crowded in coaches to that remote playhouse to see the phenomenal actor. The patentees, thoroughly alarmed, enforced the act of 1737, and Goodman's Fields closed in 1742, rarely to open again. Garrick was engaged at an enormous salary for Drury Lane.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Let me conclude by saying that Booth, because of illness, retired in 1727; he died in 1733. Wilks died the year before. This was, of course, the signal to Cibber to set his

house in order. Previous to his death, Booth sold for £2,500 half of his share in Drury Lane to Highmore, a young blade with a desire for things theatrical. Shortly after, Cibber for 3,000 guineas disposed of his whole share to the same elegant adventurer. Mrs. Wilks still retained her share. This arrangement lasted but a short time. Mrs. Booth sold, at the beginning of 1733–34, her remaining one-sixth of the patent to Giffard, receiving £1,500. The season under Highmore had hardly started, when most of the principal performers seceded, under Theophilus Cibber, Colley's disreputable son, and opened the Haymarket, for regular plays. Both Highmore and Rich, of Covent Garden, tested the value of their patents, by having one of the actors—Harper—arrested as a vagabond, under the old statute. He was acquitted, and the career of Highmore was blighted. He was glad to sell out, during the course of the season of 1733–34, and at a great sacrifice, to Charles Fleetwood, another enterprising amateur of the drama, who also bought Mrs. Wilks's share. Giffard, Genest suggests, probably held on to the sixth he had purchased from Mrs. Booth. Shortly thereafter Fleetwood induced the seceders to leave the Haymarket and return to the true fold. From now on to the end of our present period and shortly thereafter, Fleetwood managed or rather mismanaged Drury Lane; thanks to Macklin, however, an earnest student, who was stage director, affairs were not so desperate as might have been expected. Fleetwood went his spendthrift way, piling up debts, until, in the beginning of the Garrick era, he was forced out by his creditors. This exit led to the directorate of Garrick and Lacy (1747–48 and thence onwards), which is the period of the greatest glory of the English stage.

At the very end of our period, in 1741, Lewis Riccoboni, of the Italian theatre in Paris, published An Historical and Critical Account of the Theatres of Europe. Of the theatres in London he has these polite things to say:

> The Architecture of their Play-house is beautiful and commodious. All the Pit is in Form of an Amphitheatre, where both Sexes sit promiscuously, which afford [*sic*] a very agreeable Sight. There is but

one Row of Boxes, and above are two Galleries with Benches one above another, where People sit. It is about forty Years since the *English* Nobility went into the Taste of the *Italian* Operas, which they support with great Magnificence, and at an astonishing Expence. They draw to *London* the best Singers in *Italy*, who leave their Country without any Regret, tho' there Music meets with great Encouragement. The Prices for Admission into the House are much the same as at *Paris*.

There are commonly two Theatres for acting Comedies and Tragedies, which are nobly ornamented with Decorations and Dresses. As to the Actors, if after forty-five Years Experience I may be entitled to give my Opinion, I dare advance that the best Actors in *Italy* and *France* come far short of those in England.

In conclusion, I may say that throughout the earlier part of this period the prices remained, except for benefits and special occasions, 2s. 6d. in the pit, 18d. in the first gallery, and 1s. in the upper gallery. With the coming of pantomime advanced prices became in general, as Theophilus Cibber boasts, common prices; the long run of the ordinary entertainment brought about that result. At the end of the *régime* we find this system still in force. Performances throughout the entire thirty years of our period began at six o'clock; so long a stay on one hour strikes me as astonishing. Proof of my statements in regard to both of these matters—price of admission and time of performance—can be gathered from testimony to be found in the advertisements quoted in my discussion of Scenery in the age of Cibber. As to duration of performance—from six to ten o'clock—the reader may, in that chapter, dwell on Addison's statement that the list of stage properties, etc., may be viewed any evening between those hours, in Drury Lane; in other words, while the play is acting.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PLAYS

GENERAL TENDENCIES OF THE PERIOD

For several years after Cibber, Wilks and Dogget became the real directors of Drury Lane (Booth shortly succeeding Dogget) the spirit of Shakespeare was left in peace. No attempt was made to "polish" his plays, or "weed his garden," or otherwise spoil one of his works. The standard tragedies and histories were regularly acted—the comedies still neglected by the age of Congreve and Farquhar—but the tragedies were acted without suffering an alarming sea-change. Revivals of less known pieces were not attempted. A reading of Colley Cibber's Apology will bear out my contention, and a study of Genest's Account of the Theatre for the period under discussion will amply show how little was done for Shakespeare, the subject of our study, except in the constant repetition of the standard plays that formed the monotonous invariable repertoire of the managers of the house.

Ten of Shakespeare's works were stock plays during almost the entire thirty-one seasons in debate. Of these, Genest records performances of Macbeth for every year except six; of Hamlet, for every season except two. King Lear missed eight seasons, but Othello only two—a remarkable record. Julius Cæsar was laid aside only once until the season of 1728–29, and then was passed over for seven successive seasons, undoubtedly because Booth, the great Brutus, and Wilks, the great Antony, acted it no more. The Tempest was regularly revived for twenty-six of these theatrical years, and Timon of Athens for twenty-one. The first part of Henry IV was omitted from the bills during only three of the thirty-one seasons. Richard III did not fare quite so well; revived in 1712–13, it failed to appear in

seven scattered seasons, but Henry VIII, put on in 1716–17, missed only two thereafter.

Of these plays the versions used were, so far as I can see, inheritances from the age of Betterton. Hamlet, Othello, Julius Cæsar, Henry VIII and the first part of Henry IV were to all intents and purposes Shakespeare's plays, though the first and the last were still curtailed; Hamlet, however, soon had restored the advice to the players, never, apparently, recited by Betterton. This I learn from a pamphlet, Some Cursory Remarks on the Play Call'd the Non-Juror, published in 1718: "What excellent Instructions has Shakespear given us (in his Hamlet) to make a Player, which has [*sic*] for this many years been omitted in the Performance, 'till very lately; I need not tell you how agreeably I was surpriz'd, when I last saw that admirable Play, to hear Mr. Wilks (who's the fittest Person in the World to give those Instructions) speak those Lines, that ought never to have been omited [*sic*]." The restoration, thus jubilantly proclaimed, might have consoled Shakespearians of that far-distant time, for an opera (!) called Hamlet, sung at the theatre in the Haymarket in February, 1712. This was an Italian Ambleto, written by Apostolo Zeno and set for the Venetian Theatre by Francesco Gasperini, and, according to Dr. Burney, "brought on our stage by Nicolini . . . There is very little resemblance . . . to Shakespeare's tragedy of the same name, though both seem to have been drawn from the same source, the Danish history by Saxo-Grammaticus." Inferior to Shakespeare, Zeno's play is described as "exempt from all the absurdities and improprieties which critics . . . had leisure to find in other operas." Burney's account of the music is brief and seems chiefly to recall that Nicolini's songs are in the contralto clef and indicate that he had lost two or three notes during his stay in England. Signora Isabella has a noisy song for trumpets and hautbois, *obligati*, and in Margarita's songs there are many passages of *bravura*. The glory of Ambroise Thomas slightly withers in this chronicle with which I sparingly load the already overburdened history. Yet, to

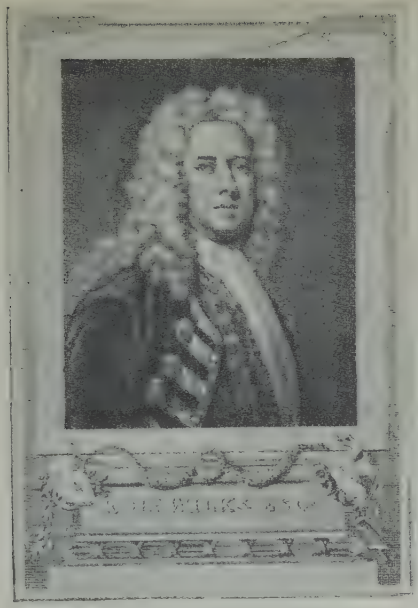
return to the soliloquy, a contemporary satire—The Players (1733)—says: "It is not spoken upon our Stages, for some important Theatrical Reason, no doubt!"

To resume, King Lear was acted in Tate's alteration, Macbeth in Davenant's, Timon of Athens in Shadwell's, and The Tempest in Dryden and Davenant's (hardly in Shadwell's, which was too expensive). Of course Cibber used his own Richard III. For completeness of record, I must state that Otway's Caius Marius flourished vigorously, missing only an occasional season, till 1726–27; it then disappeared forever from the scene.

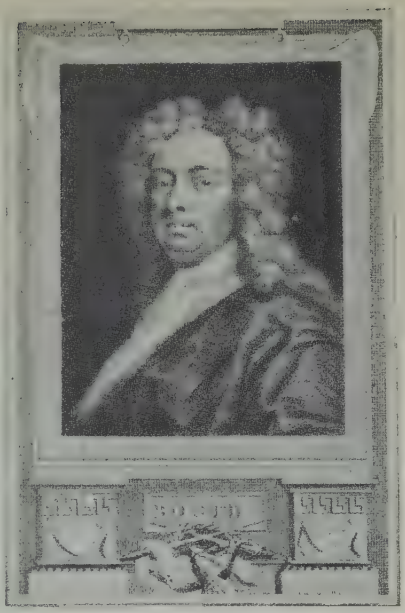
The success of this limited repertoire was due mainly to the acting. Booth as Othello, with Cibber as Iago, and Wilks as Cassio; Wilks as Hamlet, with Booth as the Ghost; Booth as Brutus and Wilks as Antony; Booth as Lear and Wilks as Edgar; the same two actors as Hotspur and Prince of Wales respectively: these were combinations quite sufficient to fill the house on any occasion. The leading actresses of the company, Mrs. Oldfield and Mrs. Porter, were added elements of strength. One reason, perhaps, why Macbeth was rather less frequently acted than were the other tragedies is the fact that Mills, who usually enacted the hero, could not for a moment compare with the men who appeared in the leading characters of the plays aforesaid. With such casts in the poet's greatest plays, why risk failure in reviving his less worthy works, for an apathetic public? Until after the days of the triumvirate, very few such attempts were made.

AT LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS

At Lincoln's Inn Fields, which opened under the management of John Rich in December, 1714, no such combinations of actors were possible; Ryan and Delane were feeble rivals in the early days, and even Quin in the later could do but little by himself against the forces of Drury Lane. The experiments with Shakespeare at Lincoln's Inn Fields were, therefore, during the early seasons, exceedingly ten-



ROBERT WILKS



BARTON BOOTH

MRS. OLDFIELD

COLLEY CIBBER

Engraved from original paintings for Matthews and Leigh, 1807

tative; Rich came to depend more and more on spectacular, operatic and pantomimic offerings. Henry IV, Part I, came in his first season, Hamlet in his second, Macbeth and Julius Cæsar in his third, Othello in his sixth. Thereafter, they appear with considerable regularity in his bills, until the end of the period we are discussing. Also, George Granville's Jew of Venice emerges with a remarkable frequency throughout the entire course of Rich's management, up to 1738–39, though it was never, apparently, played at Drury Lane. This was probably due to the presence in the Lincoln's Inn Fields company of the comedian Griffin, who enacted Shylock. In 1720–21, however, Lincoln's Inn Fields performed a real service in reviving Shakespeare's (not Tate's) Coriolanus, and Measure for Measure and The Merry Wives of Windsor, the last two thereafter never long absent from the bills of this company up to 1733–34, The Merry Wives indeed not absent to the very end of the period, 1741–42.

In the seasons between 1720–21 and 1741–42, most of the revivals of the less-known Shakespearian plays were effected by this newer, star-free company. That is exactly what one would expect; they needed to attract by new plays or new productions of old ones. Cymbeline, Much Ado About Nothing, Theobald's Richard II, Dryden's Troilus and Cressida, were among the earlier ventures; King John, Shakespeare's (not Theobald's) Richard II, Henry V, and Henry VI (Part I) were among the latest (1737–42).

THE LAST YEARS OF THE PERIOD

At the very end of the period, however, when no male star but Quin was in the heavens, and Mrs. Woffington was drawing the town in plays other than Shakespeare's, both the patent houses and Goodman's Fields were engaging in a game of catch-as-catch-can the public, and all three produced plays of the bard that his admirers had probably never expected to see acted. Drury Lane, which had, after drafting the services of Quin from Covent Garden,

produced The Merry Wives in the season of 1734–35, and Measure for Measure in 1736–37, in 1740–41 put on As You Like It, Twelfth Night, and The Merchant of Venice for the first time practically in nearly a hundred years, all, I believe, inspired by the ambition of Macklin, who acted Touchstone (though not at first), Malvolio and Shylock.

Goodman's Fields in the same season (again an unprosperous theatre striving to attract by novelty) brought out The Winter's Tale and All's Well that Ends Well, the first seized upon next year by Covent Garden, and the second by Drury Lane. The last-named house ends the record by a production of The Comedy of Errors.

It would be interesting to know just what started this remarkable revival of the neglected plays of Shakespeare. The old actors were gone, and new ones failed to please in the old parts; probably, therefore, novelty was demanded and the old plays were again enacted. The comedies of Shakespeare had not been played for one hundred years; they were now produced with bewildering frequency. Why? What was the cause of this change in public taste? And in the years just preceding Young's Night Thoughts, and Blair's The Grave? Had Thomson's Seasons, with its message of return to nature, something to do with it? The ladies of the Shakespeare Club no doubt were instrumental, to some extent, in urging the managers to this so desired end. All these influences, however, were probably but scattered manifestations of the rising tide of romanticism, which was sweeping through literature and life. The stage invariably first reflects the impulses of public taste, and that that taste was turning more and more to Shakespeare is evidenced by the increasing number of editions of the poet printed during the last twenty years of Cibber's *régime*. When Pope edited Shakespeare the icy fountain of classicism was beginning to melt!

But note that, just as the day seemed won, appeared, in 1741–42, David Garrick, the greatest of tragic stars, and brought back to Hamlet, Lear, Richard and Macbeth something of the glory they seemed to have lost in the pass-

ing of Booth and Wilks. And now the deluge, wiping out all the good results of the last few years; the repertoire again becomes hackneyed to a degree, and audiences rush to see the actor, not the play. None of the newly revived works of Shakespeare quite disappeared from view, again, but none experienced entirely the success it deserved unless the all-eclipsing David took part in the performance.

It will be the purpose of the present chapter to trace in detail the vicissitudes of Shakespeare on the stage in the years from 1710 to 1742.

SHAKESPEARIAN FARCES: THE COBLER OF PRESTON

The first attack was in the way of harmless, unimportant farces or "entertainments," abstracted from two of his less frequently acted plays. On the 24th of January, 1715–16, was produced at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields Christopher Bullock's farce, The Cobler of Preston; at Drury Lane, on February 3rd, was seen a piece with exactly the same name by Charles Johnson. It was a case of "beating the other fellow to it," and Lincoln's Inn Fields won. The introduction of Bullock's play justifies his procedure.

Maintaining that he had equal right with Johnson to "plunder" an old play, "'Tis true," he says, "I did hear there was a *Farce* in Rehearsal at *Drury-Lane* Theatre, call'd *The Cobler* of Preston, and that it was taken from the fore-mention'd Play of *Shakespear's :* I thought it might be of as good Service to our *Stage* as the *other ;* so I set to work on Friday Morning, the 20th of *January,* finish'd it on the *Saturday* following [i. e., the next day], and it was acted the *Tuesday* after: which Expedition, I hope will be an Excuse for the many Faults that are in it."

This play of Bullock's is merely an amplification of the Christopher Sly episodes in The Taming of the Shrew. The first scene reveals Toby Guzzle (Sly) drunk in a field; he is rebuked and scolded by Dorcas, his wife, who departs in high stage wrath. Enter Dame Hacket, the Hostess, who demands of Guzzle the money he owes her. He sits on the

ground and sings a maudlin song; in this condition he is found by Sir Jasper Manley, Clerimont, Huntsmen, etc. Now for the first time some of Shakespeare's language is used. Guzzle is carried to Sir Jasper's house, and put to bed, as in Shakespeare. On his waking, much of the language and progression of episodes is Shakespeare's; he declines to look at the pictures, and calls for more sack. After an interpolated song and dance (O British public!), cases are tried before him as justice. First come his wife and the hostess, who have got into a row, the wife suspecting her husband of being the lover of the gentle dispenser of ale; Guzzle tells them that they, as he formerly, are dreaming. He orders them both to be carried out and ducked. Next enter a Miller and Snuffle, a Puritan, the latter accusing the former of being caught in a compromising situation with the latter's wife; the Miller turns the tables by a similar charge against his adversary and his (the Miller's) wife. Guzzle thinks affairs are about even between them, and orders them out, *sine* judgment. The great judge now falls asleep, and is again carried out and laid in the fields, still snoring. The two women find him and beat him with sticks, in repayment for the ducking they have just undergone. He orders them "down with their weapons," pulls out a purse of forty or fifty shillings Sir Jasper gave him, and they "drown animosities in a dozen of ale."

This piece was played by a group of eminently funny comedians: Spiller as Guzzle, Bullock as Grist, the Miller, Bullock, junior, as Snuffle, and Griffin as Dorcas Guzzle. It was a great success, and was revived several times in years to come.

Johnson's adaptation was not so good, because it was far less simple; he mixed politics (the year, remember, was 1715–16) far too copiously in the draught of fun, and railed too hard against the Jacobites and the Pretender. The guess is that there actually was some Cobbler of Preston, at this time, who got into difficulties as a conspirator against

the new government. In this version of Shakespeare's Induction, Sly, roaring-drunk, is picked up, at eight in the morning, outside the alehouse, carried to the house of Sir Charles Briton, and put through the paces, as in Shakespeare, this time by servants disguised as Spaniards, who try to make him believe that he is a grandee, and is actually talking Spanish. A Spanish wife is provided for him. Meantime Sir Charles's Butler, also drunk, is carried out in Sly's rags, and almost believed by Sly's wife to be her husband. When Sly falls asleep, he is carried back to his cobbler's stall, and, after a scene with his wife, who is much confused at the apparent possession of two husbands, is once more taken to Sir Charles's home, where he is accused of rebellion, threatened with hanging, and agrees for the future to be loyal and true. When this piece was revived at Drury Lane in 1817, it was turned into an opera (the songs being excruciatingly sentimental and incongruous), and a love story was inserted. But so little of the original political motive is left that the working out is confusing rather than otherwise. Sly, in this version, was played originally by Penkethman, and one hundred years later by Munden. Two funnier comedians never lived.

Some of the speeches that seemed very "ticklish" in the days following the invasion of James Edward Stuart may be quoted. Kit's confession in Act II is merely amusing, now. He admits he was drawn to drink "Jacobite Papish Healths" merely for "Love of the Beer." Perhaps his drunken speech in Act I, Scene 4, hurt worse in 1716:

> Dub-Rub, Dub a Dub! Rumps and Round-heads, Rumps and Round-Heads! I'll be a Rebel, down with the Rump, down with the Rump; and yet I do not rebel, look 'ee because I hate the Government, but because there should be no Government at all— Look 'ye, I am for Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance; and so I will knock every Body down and be subject to no Body. I am likewise for Liberty and Property; that is, declare for a Spunge and no Taxes: and in order to bring this about the more expeditiously, I pronounce myself a Member of that Church which can forgive all my Sins, past, present, and to come. And so *Diego*, good Night. (*Falls asleep*)

In Act II, Scene 2, when the "Spanish" servants prepare to carry him off, he says:

> Scoundrels, are you sure now, positively sure, that I am your Natural Lord and Master? *I am devilishly afraid I am but a Pretender.*

The italics in the last line are in the original; doubtless the comedian Penkethman in 1716 got the most out of them by all the arts of the player. The last "gag" of Kit at the close of the play probably also made some auditors nervous. He ends, however, by promising with Protestants to cry, "Live King George!" It will be seen from the bare analyses above, how much more amusing was Bullock's farce than that of his rival. It had the elements of slapstick and rough-and-tumble so dear to the British (and American) heart, and the story was more consistent and probable. Besides, farce and politics do not mix.

PYRAMUS AND THISBE

Perhaps it is idle to connect Shakespeare's name with either effort. A third attempt in similar kind is nearly as remote from him; I refer to Richard Leveridge's Comick Masque of Pyramus and Thisbe, "as it is performed at the Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn Fields," in 1716. This is a mock opera, and evidently aimed at the fashionable taste for the Italian opera. Semibreve enters with Crotchet and Gamut, for a rehearsal of the show. He seats them on the stage, and immediately is enacted Act I, Scene 2—the gathering of the hard-handed men of Athens—from A Midsummer Night's Dream. After the scene, the Prologue enters with the Shakespearian

> If we offend, it is with our good will, etc.

Having sung, he departs, leaving the stage to Semibreve, Crotchet and Gamut, for more witty talk. Enter Wall, who sings

> The wretched Sighs, and Groans,
> The rueful Sobs and Moans, etc.

Crotchet: Who would desire Lime and Hair to sing better?
Gamut: This is the most Musical Partition I ever heard:
Semibreve: My Friend Crotchet: This is nothing to what we have abroad, and by degrees I am in hopes to bring our dull English to this polite Taste.

. . . . . .

Crotchet: I wonder whether the Lion be to sing?
Semibreve: Never wonder at that, for we that have Study'd the Italian Opera may do anything in this Kind.

The Lion indulges in a song, "Ladies, don't fright you," and the comic tragedy goes on to its close, after which Pyramus and Thisbe come to life again and sing a lusty duet. The reader will be reminded of the droll published in 1661, and included in Kirkman's Wits (1672)—The merry conceited Humours of Bottom the Weaver. This fragment of Shakespeare's play, necessitated by Puritan censorship, is reverence personified, in comparison with Leveridge's work. But Leveridge, we see, was not the first to present the comic scenes of the fairy drama, dissociated from the story of the Athenian lovers.

No one could seriously object to cutting these ribs from Shakespeare's plays, and serving them as farcical after-pieces. They are so slight a part of the whole, that they hardly suggested the source from which they were stolen: the offence, at any rate to me, seems far less heinous than that of Tate in King Lear or of Dryden and Davenant in The Tempest. One is an amputation, the other is a typhoid of the whole system.

HASTINGS AND JANE SHORE

I suppose I must not leave this question of amputation, without referring, if ever so briefly, to Rowe's long-popular tragedy of Jane Shore (1714), written, so the title-page proudly boasts, "in imitation of Shakespear's Style." To make assurance of this double sure, Rowe blandly abstracts from Shakespeare's Richard III the entire scene of Gloster's accusation and punishment of Hastings, the structure, spirit and order of the scene being exactly the same in both plays.

The scene is short (shorter in the original than in Rowe), but some idea of Rowe's "improvement" in language may be gathered from a reading of bits from both versions:

RICHARD III (*Folio*, 1623)

Glo. I pray you all, tell me what they deserue
That doe conspire my death with diuellish plots,
Of damned Witchcraft, and that have preuail'd
Vpon my Bodye with their Hellish Charmes?

Hast. The tender loue I beare your Grace, my Lord,
Makes me most forward in this Princely presence
To doome the offenders, whosoe're they be:
I say, my Lord, they haue deserued death.

JANE SHORE

Glos. Therefore to your most grave Determination
I yield my self in all things; and demand
What Punishment your Wisdom shall think meet
T' inflict upon those damnable Contrivers
Who shall with Potions, Charms, and witching Drugs,
Practice against our Person and our Life?

Hast. So much I hold the King your Highness' Debtor,
So precious are you to the Commonweal,
That I presume, not only for my self,
But in Behalf of those my Noble Brothers,
To say whoe'er they be, they merit Death.

Why proceed further? Rowe long ago paid the debt of nature and his play is—I fear—buried with him; Richard III owes far more grudge to Colley Cibber than to Rowe, who, after all, purloined only what Cibber had left of the *disjecta membra* of the original tragedy.

ROMAN PLAYS: JULIUS CÆSAR, 1719

These were solitary instances for many years of this particular kind of mutilation of Shakespeare. We now find ourselves, however, at the beginning of a new and more deadly assault on the bard. The years, 1719–23, saw one of those concerted attacks that our previous study has

shown to have been usual in such cases; witness the history of the years 1678–82.

As in those years, the plays that were selected for revision and permutation in these troubled first years of the Hanoverian kings were the histories, especially those that offered a parallel to the conditions in the early part of the reign of George I—conditions of faction, divided allegiance, conspiracy, rebellion. This is assuredly more than a coincidence.

In 1719 was published The Tragedy of Julius Cæsar: with the Death of Brutus and Cassius; Written Originally by Shakspear, and since alter'd by Sir William Davenant and John Dryden, late Poets Laureat. "As it is now Acted by His Majesty's Company of Comedians at the Theatre Royal." The connection of the two Restoration dramatists with this interesting adaptation is difficult to prove; both had been dead for many years when the work was published, and it is altogether probable that distinguished names were put on the title-page to give a little extra glory to what was, after all, but an acting version, and a poor one at that. There is no other instance of the collaboration of Dryden and Davenant in a play produced by the King's Company, who always held the acting rights to Julius Cæsar. In all probability, as the Biographia Dramatica suggests, these play-house alterations were but traditionally ascribed to the two poets aforesaid, and given out as theirs in 1719.

Some of the minor changes may be briefly dismissed. "Caska," as in the quartos of 168– and 1684, takes the place of Marullus in the opening scene, quite to the annihilation of anything like dramatic propriety; as if this were not enough, he becomes, in Acts IV and V, "like Cerberus, three gentlemen in one," and assumes all the words and acts of Shakespeare's Titinius. Three more diverse characters were never packed away in one human skin. It will be seen in the discussion of later acting versions of Julius Cæsar that Casca has many parts to play on London stages; the practice has begun in 1719. Undoubtedly this was done to induce a prominent actor to assume the char-

acter. Exigencies of the theatre, with need for "doubling" of parts when actors were few, is also evident in the reduction of subordinate characters, and the transference of activities among those that remain. This may be illustrated here once for all by a comparison of Shakespeare's Act V, Scene 5, "Enter Brutus, Dardanius, Clitus, Strato, and Volumnius," with the 1719 version, "Enter Brutus, Dardanius, Lucilius and Popilius." Popilius, therefore, instead of Shakespeare's Volumnius, is, in 1719, reminded that he and Brutus went to school together, but, in spite of that, refuses to be instrumental in the death of his old friend. As in certain later versions, the characters of Artemidorus and the Soothsayer are merged in one. Finally, the episode of the Poet who would interrupt the quarrel of Brutus and Cassius is, as usual, omitted. These changes are, however, very minor, and are cited merely to show the beginning of a practice that has lasted until our own day.

The one important change that has been noted from the days of the Biographia Dramatica to the Variorum Shakespeare involves four lines for Brutus, added at the very end of the scene in the tent, after the disappearance of the Ghost of Cæsar. So far as I have been able to discover, these are the only lines quoted by commentators even unto the third and fourth generation, the reason being the inaccessibility of the volume; the only copy of which I have knowledge is to be found in the British Museum. After Brutus learns from his guard—in 1719 Claudio and Varrus—that they have not seen the spirit, he cries out:

> Sure they have raised some Devil to their aid,
> And think to frighten Brutus with a shade.
> But e're the night closes this fatal Day,
> I'll send more ghosts this visit to repay.

Nothing could be more remote from the character of Brutus, but, as Francis Gentleman says in 1773, "these four uncharacteristic, bouncing lines are used in representation, by way of sending the actor off with a flourish." Gentleman

adds: "We have seen the ghost introduced a second time; but such an addition is insufferable." And behold, the 1719 version gives this addition. Taking advantage of Brutus's statement to Volumnius (in 1719 to Popilius), the version we are considering makes assurance for the audience indeed sure by writing in, in the last act, the actual occurrence: It takes place immediately after a speech of Brutus, the last two lines of which are transferred from an earlier speech, to prepare more thrillingly for the fatal entrance of the apparition:

> Friends, I owe more tears
> To this dead Man, than you shall see me pay.
> I shall find time *Cassius*, I shall find time!
> Come therefore, and to *Tarsus* send his body,
> His Funeral shall not be in our Camp,
> Lest it discomfort us—Leave us a while.
> O *Julius Cæsar*, thou art mighty yet,
> And turn'st our Swords into our proper Entrails.
>
> *Enter* Cæsars *Ghost.*
>
> *Ghost.* *Cassius*, my three and thirty wounds are now reveng'd.
> *Brut.* What art thou, why com'st thou.
> *Ghost.* To keep my word, and meet thee in *Philippi* fields.
> *Brut.* Well, I see thee then.
> *Ghost.* Next, ungrateful *Brutus*, do I call.
> *Brut.* Ungrateful *Cæsar*, that wou'd *Rome* Enthral.
> *Ghost.* The Ides of *March* remember—I must go,
> To meet thee on the burning Lake below. [*Sinks*
> *Brut.* My Spirits come to me—Stay thou bloody
> Apparition, come back, I would converse
> Longer with thee—'tis gone, this fatal shadow
> Haunts me still.

This stuff, if not quite in the Cambises vein, is certainly in the very best vein of the bad old Thomas Kyd style of blood and thunder; whence came it? how persisted it to 1719? Surely Dryden could have had no hand in its composition.

Finally, I call attention to the insertion of some lines in Brutus's death-scene that continued with modifications throughout the age of Kemble. Perhaps I can best illus-

trate by giving the original and this highly theatrical elaboration of it. The scene is that last one of all between Strato and Brutus, or, as the 1719 copy has it, between Lucilius and Brutus:

SHAKESPEARE (*Folio* 1623)

Brut. I prythee *Strato*, stay thou by thy Lord,
Thou art a Fellow of a good respect:
Thy life hath had some smatch of Honour in it,
Hold then my Sword, and turne away thy face,
While I do run vpon it. Wilt thou, *Strato?*
Strato. Giue me your hand first. Fare you wel my lord.
Brut. Farewell, good *Strato.* *Cæsar*, now be still:
I kill'd not thee with halfe so good a will. *Dyes.*

THE 1719 VERSION

Lucil. After you, what *Roman* wou'd Live?
Brut. What *Roman* wou'd not live, that may
To serve his Country in a nobler day.
You are not above a pardon, tho' *Brutus* is.
Luc. I'm not afraid to die.
Brut. Retire, and let me think awhile.
Now one last look, and then farewell to all
That wou'd with the unhappy *Brutus* fall.
Scorning to view his Country's Misery,
Thus *Brutus* always strikes for Liberty.
[*Stabs himself.*
Poor slavish *Rome* farewel,
Cæsar now be still.
I kill'd not thee with half so
Good a will. [*Dies.*

Any one with a "sense for the theatre" can perceive the acting value of this final bit of alteration; the affecting farewell, the rant of the lines, the pictorial effect of the self-slaughter, with the dying gasp of exhortation to Cæsar.

The version, as a whole, is Shakespeare; the changes I have thus described loom large in description but not in actual number of lines. They are all for the greater effectiveness of stage production, and some, as we have seen, lasted for many, many years. The cast on the obverse of the title-page is that of the prime of the triumvirate at Drury Lane, and has probably never since been surpassed,

including, as it did, Barton Booth as Brutus, Wilks as Antony, Elrington as Cassius, Mills as Cæsar, the great Mrs. Porter as Portia, and Mrs. Horton, only a little less great and certainly far more beautiful, as Calpurnia. This was the best the age of Cibber could do.

THE INVADER OF HIS COUNTRY

It is always with something of a feeling of boredom that one approaches the discussion of a play by John Dennis; methinks his prefaces do protest too much. At any rate, it is now my duty to speak of his The Invader of his Country, or the Fatal Resentment; under which mass of verbiage the title, Coriolanus, is smothered. This tragedy, acted at Drury Lane on November 11, 1719, was printed the following year, and is preceded by a sour dedication to the Duke of Newcastle, in which, as usual a bad loser, Dennis accounts for the failure of his play. The managers had agreed to act it the season before, when England was threatened with an invasion from Sweden on the north, and Spain on the west. They had postponed the play "that was writ in the Cause of their Country, in the Cause of their Sovereign . . . for the most absurd and insipid trifles that ever came upon any Stage. . . . When the play was produced it coincided with the King's coming to town, and people wouldn't go to the theatre; the third night fell on a Friday, and everything was against success." It was withdrawn after three nights. Of course, with Dennis, the blame lay anywhere except with himself.

As might be expected, the chief attempt has been to unify the play. The scene is partly at Rome, partly in the territory of the Volscians. The entire first act is in one scene, and concerns itself with the fight at Corioli. Cominius seems to be beaten; a message is brought to the effect that Marcius is shut within the town. He, however, appears, and another tells of his great feats within the city; this he deprecates. Enter Aufidius "at one door," Caius Marcius "at the other"; they fight. Auxiliaries come, but

are all driven off by Marcius. Marcius and Cominius confer; the latter assures the former that the Senate will choose him as Consul. Just before, Cominius has bestowed on Marcius the title of Coriolanus.

The second act is less unified. The first scene (in the street) introduces Volumnia and Virgilia, the former proud and brave, the latter frightened. In spirit this scene is Shakespeare's; it ends with the entrance of Cominius, Coriolanus and Menenius, and contains little but greetings between them and the women. A messenger summons Coriolanus to the Senate. The second scene is laid in the Capitol, and shows Sicinius and Brutus hatching the plot against Coriolanus, who, later, enters with his friends, Cominius and Menenius. The last scene is in the Forum, the factions of Coriolanus and Sempronius quarrelling and fighting, with special bearing, apparently, on recent troubles in England. Coriolanus finally enters, and "stands" the proper length of time, to try for the "voices" of the populace. All this ends as in Shakespeare, with Brutus and Sicinius finally inciting the people against the unyielding and tactless candidate.

The third act begins with the Senate turning against Coriolanus, and ends in the house of the great warrior. He is again persuaded to "stand," but negotiations come to nought, and

> *Cor.* You common cry of curs, whose breath I hate,
> As the contagious reek of rotten fens,
> Whose loves I prize, as the dead carcasses
> Of men unbury'd, which corrupt the air,
> I from Coriolanus banish you,
> And here remain with your uncertainty,
> Let every feeble rumor shake your hearts, etc.

His farewell to Virgilia and Volumnia takes place in this room.

The fourth act is, first, at Antium, and gives the scene of Coriolanus's entrance (in rags) in the house of his great enemy, Aufidius, and the reconciliation of the rivals; the

second scene shows Rome in terror, as the Volscians approach. The fifth act is fearfully unified. Aufidius and four Tribunes enter; the Volscian army has been highly successful. But now come the trouble-makers, Virgilia, Volumnia, Valeria (who appears only in this scene, and then as a mute), young Marcius, with other ladies and attendants. They succeed in their mission, as in all plays on the subject. After they depart (their scene is a long one), Aufidius shows resentment and anger at Coriolanus's ordering the Volscian army to withdraw from the siege of Rome. The two generals fight, and Aufidius falls. Three of the tribunes fight with Coriolanus, and he is successful, only to be run through the back by the fourth. Women shriek behind the scenes, and Virgilia and Volumnia enter for a farewell scene with their "murdered man," to use Keats's expression. The final speech falls to Cominius. It will be observed that Dennis had the good taste to omit Tate's *motif* of the wicked desire of Aufidius for Virgilia.

It will be seen, further, that Dennis has done his best to "improve" Shakespeare's grand drama, "in whose original," as his prologue says,

> In whose Original we may descry
> Where Master-strokes in wild Confusion lye,
> Here brought to as much Order as we can
> Reduce those Beauties upon Shakespear's Plan.

He refers, at the close of the prologue, to the late confusion in the state, and thereby once more admits his reason for taking up this tragic tale of ancient Rome, the resemblance of Coriolanus, the invader of his country, to the Pretender in his predicament being quite obvious to the most casual observer. In conclusion, it may be said, his play is one of the dullest in the whole range of the reconstructed Shakespearian drama.

ENGLISH HISTORIES: RICHARD II

We could hardly expect such a period of political disturbance to pass without an effort to revive Richard II,

Henry IV and Henry VI, in whole or in part. Consequently, we shall not be surprised to find a rapid succession of revisions and pilferings in this fruitful field.

Richard II fell first easy victim to the marauders, though in this case it was one of the greatest lovers of the poet who perpetrated the deed—Lewis Theobald, editor of Shakespeare and exciter of the ire of the wasp of Twickenham. His Richard II was produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields on December 10, 1719, and met with considerable success, sufficient indeed to keep it in the repertoire for a season or two thereafter. Yet is his work greatly varied from Shakespeare's, whose first two acts, except for some speeches used in later scenes, he has entirely omitted. The scenes are all laid near the Tower of London or within it. He considerably alters the characters of York and his son Aumerle, and introduces a Lady Piercy, daughter of Northumberland, with whom Aumerle is in love.

Most of the scenes of Richard's landing in Wales, and of Bolingbroke's besieging him in Flint Castle, are transferred to the Tower. This matter is interrupted, at the beginning of Act II, by a love scene between Aumerle and Lady Piercy; these adapters and mutilators had long before discovered the necessity, for a theatrical audience comprising so many women, of a conventional love-story, exalting woman's influence through love. The pitiful story of Richard's reception in London is given here by Salisbury to the Bishop of Carlisle, as in Tate it is spoken by Aumerle to the Duchess of York. In Shakespeare, it will be remembered, York describes the scene to his Duchess. Theobald's third act concludes with the parliament scene, but little changed from Shakespeare.

The fourth act is largely Theobald, not Shakespeare. It begins with a love scene between Aumerle and Lady Piercy, in the course of which Aumerle conveniently drops a parchment, later picked up by Northumberland and given to Bolingbroke. This incriminating document leads Bolingbroke to ask York for his opinion on the conspirators. Not knowing that his son is of the number, he condemns them,

but, learning how near his own house the lightning is about to strike, he pleads for him. This is, of course, wholly opposed to Shakespeare's handling: York, in the original, bears to Bolingbroke the news of Aumerle's defection.

The last act shows Lady Piercy pleading with her father, Northumberland, to use his influence in Aumerle's behalf; he refuses. Aumerle and others are led to execution. The King and the Queen are next shown; Northumberland enters, causes the Queen to be removed, and the King, after killing two of the guard, is himself killed by Exton. York, entering and finding the King dead, kills himself. Lady Piercy, hearing of Aumerle's death, stabs herself (off-scene), and nobody but Bolingbroke is left to conclude the play with a fine sounding phrase about king's blood, unatoned, cursing the land—a suitable sentiment for this killer of kings!

Theobald admits that he has "made some innovations upon History and Shakespeare, as in bringing Richard and Bolingbroke to meet first at the Tower, keeping York steady to the interest of the King, heightening Aumerle's character in making him die for the cause, and in dispatching Richard at the Tower, who, indeed, was murther'd at Pontefract Castle—in these and such instances I think there may be reserv'd a discretionary power of variation, either for maintaining the *unity of action* [how the poor souls worried about this!] or supporting *the dignity of the characters.*" More than half of the play, however, is Shakespeare's; and that is more than can be said of many of the preceding alterations. It lasted a year or two, and was superseded in 1737–38 by an elaborate representation of Shakespeare's own play at Covent Garden.

ENGLISH HISTORIES: HENRY IV, PART II

For completeness of record, and to show the trend of things theatrical, we may say that on December 17, 1720, was revived for the first time in seventeen years, Henry IV, Part II. About this time, as we have seen, were printed

two editions of The Sequel of Henry the Fourth: with the Humours of Sir John Falstaffe, and Justice Shallow, "as it is Acted by His Majesty's Company of Comedians, at the Theatre-Royal, in Drury-Lane, Alter'd from Shakespear, by the late Mr. Betterton." This version we have already discussed (page 85). Henry IV, Part II, was very popular from this time on, so long indeed as there was an able Falstaff; and it is quite probable that the version used for some time was that just mentioned. In 1735–36 the announcement at Drury Lane stressed the fact that the arrangement acted was Shakespeare's own, with the addition of scenes hitherto acted. This may have been true, but, in regard to those days of vandalism, one can never be quite sure. The original cast in 1720 was very strong, including Booth as the King, Wilks as Prince of Wales, Mills as Falstaff, Colley Cibber as Shallow, Boman as the Chief Justice. Later, Pistol became a famous characterisation of Theophilus Cibber.

A COMIC INTERMEZZO

Let us pass to something lighter—a pastoral intermezzo, a very early manifestation of the romantic impulse—played between the foregoing war pieces and a similar pair in 1722–23, soon to be discussed. On January 9, 1722–23, was acted at Drury Lane the piece published in 1723 with the title Love in a Forest, a Comedy, "as it is Acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane, by His Majesty's Servants." This is by the Charles Johnson who made a Cobler of Preston for the same theatre. It is a version of As You Like It, into which has been inserted the Pyramus and Thisbe burlesque from A Midsummer Night's Dream, a burlesque which proved a regular Robin Goodfellow to so many perverters of Shakespeare.

Some rather startling changes are made in the text. In the first act, for instance, Charles and Orlando do not wrestle—they fight with rapiers. Oliver tells Charles that Orlando is plotting against Duke Frederick and urges

THEOPHILUS CIBBER AS PISTOL

Charles to challenge Orlando to a combat before the Court. Oddly enough, the speeches of Charles and Orlando are taken from the first scene of Richard II, between Norfolk and Bolingbroke, in their recriminations before the King. This hot chivalrous passage at arms is absurdly inappropriate in Shakespeare's pastoral poem. Theobald's Richard II had not used this material, and Johnson no doubt deemed he could insert it with impunity in another play, he, like others of his kind, naïvely assuming that few, if any, theatre-goers had a reading acquaintance with Shakespeare.

And how is the Pyramus and Thisbe matter provided for? In Act II, at the end, after Orlando has defied the Duke and his company, he goes for Adam, and then we have this delightfully incongruous bit:

Duke. Thou seest we are not all alone unhappy,
This wide and universal Theatre
Presents more woeful Pageants than the Scene
Wherein we play.
Amiens. Some Citizens from Liege, some of the many
Fled hither, Sir, for your Protection, beg by me
They may have leisure to entertain your Grace.
Duke. How is it they propose to entertain?
Amiens. They call it, *A tedious brief Scene of Young* Pyramus, *and his Love* Thisby; very tragical mirth.
Duke. Merry and Tragical, tedious and brief,
How shall we find the Concord of this Discord?—
Well, let them be ready before our Cave in the Evening; there they shall represent it; this Theatrical Performance will stir thy Gall, *Jaques.*
Jaques. Not at all;
He that can reflect, wants not these Mirrours;
All the World's a Stage, etc.

Jaques, by the way, appropriates in an earlier scene as so often in later versions, the speech of the First Lord, as Celia appropriates Touchstone's

If a hart do lack a hind,

losing her own "why should this a desert be?" The Jaques "theft" was due, no doubt, to the fact that Cibber played

the part, and "padded" it for his own glorification. In Act III, Jaques falls in love with Celia—as later, in George Sand's version—and seems to suggest in the new speeches a union of Touchstone's and Benedick's words. The scene between him and Celia is very silly. From this time to the end of the act the wording is a mixture of Johnson and Shakespeare. Jaques steals some of Benedick's best things.

Act IV opens with a silly scene between Jaques and Rosalind, in which he tries to win her good graces for his love for Celia. He does not succeed very well. I may add that the Orlando-Rosalind scenes throughout are wholly in Shakespeare's language. Robert Dubois (the younger brother) takes Oliver's place in the bloody handkerchief scene, saying he was the sleeping man. Oliver has died and his lands and patrimony now descend to Orlando. Of Oliver:

> *Robert.* He died convicted of most foul Designs,
> And *Charles* confess'd, with his last dying Breath,
> The fencer, *Charles,* whom he in single Combat
> Subdued, confess'd that *Oliver* practis'd with him;
> He was suborn'd by *Oliver* to impeach
> *Orlando* as a Traitor. *Frederick*
> Resolv'd to punish him; but he prevented,
> With a despairing Hand, the Sword of Justice,
> And fell a Martyr to his own Misdoings.

In Act V, while Rosalind is changing her dress, the play of Pyramus and Thisbe is performed. The prologue, spoken by Wilks, gives the attitude of the author toward such tampering:

> In Honour to his Name, and this learned Age,
> Once more your much lov'd Shakespear treads the Stage.
> . . . . . .
> Now,—As you like it, judge the following Play,
> And when you view this Work, retriev'd to Day;
> Forgive our modern Author's Honest Zeal,
> He hath attempted boldly, if not well:
> Believe, he only does with Pain, and Care,
> Presume to weed the beautiful Parterre.

His whole Ambition does, at most, aspire
To tune the sacred Bard's immortal Lyre;
The Scene from Time and Error to restore,
And give the Stage, from *Shakespear* one Play more.

This play is largely in Shakespeare's words. Touchstone, Audrey, William, Phebe, Corin are, as one would expect in that age of the unities, omitted, and Silvius, except for one short scene where he is told to arrange the buying of the cottage. The Jaques-Celia love affair, the killing of Oliver and the assigning of his part to Robert (Jaques du Bois), are original with Johnson. Robert ends the play with something like Jaques du Bois's words on Frederick's conversion.

I was attracted to this play by its pretty title and by its interest as the first attempt in many years to put on one of the more delicate comedies of Shakespeare; not for twenty years had one—except the Dryden-Davenant Tempest—been attempted at Drury Lane, and only the year before had The Merry Wives and Measure for Measure emerged at Lincoln's Inn Fields. The perversion is decidedly insipid and met with but little success; nevertheless, it was a step forward. The revival showed at least a dainty side of Shakespeare's genius hitherto neglected.

I am not at all sure that the reader will be grateful for information concerning a subsequent revision of As You Like It in 1739. In that year was printed, but not acted, The Modern Receipt, or a Cure for Love. The young author (J. Carrington, supposed) was just bold enough to publish, though too timid to face public trial on the stage. His play adopts from Love in a Forest the rapier-combat (off-scene, in this case) between Orlando and Charles, and the love-affair between Jaques and Celia (the latter a very forward minx, I am forced to admit). The scene is in Liège, and all the characters are re-named; Le Beau and Touchstone merge into one personage, with less of the jester and more of the foolish lord. Why go on? The play was never acted, and hardly demands mention in a history of Shakespeare on the stage.

HALF-PAY OFFICERS

This lighter interlude may be brought to a close by a brief consideration of C. Molloy's Half-Pay Officers, a three-act farce produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields on January 11, 1719–20, and founded on the sub-plot of Vasco and the Widow in Davenant's Love and Honour. Here, Culverin (evidently Shakespeare's Pistol) woos Widow Rich. Two half-pay officers, Bellayr and MacMorris, strive to win the love and fortune of her granddaughters, Benedict and Charlotte, whom she designs for Meagre, a Scrivener, and Loadham, a Hamburgh merchant, Benedict to have first choice. Culverin woos the Widow, as does Davenant's Vasco, and in the same words at times. The half-pay officers set on Fluellen to court the old lady; in the end he forces Culverin to eat the leek, as in Shakespeare. A funny duel between Meagre and Loadham may have been suggested by the Sir Andrew-Viola duel in Twelfth Night. The farce as a whole would never have been connected with Shakespeare, except for the wholesale stealing of the character of Fluellen. Such performances, so easily tolerated or ignored at that time, show how far the Shakespeare tradition had to go before arriving at the reverent attitude we assume to-day. For all that, this particular farce is rather amusing, in the slap-stick style.

FURTHER ENGLISH HISTORIES: AMBROSE PHILIPS

I return to the less pleasing task of disentangling the variations of the historical plays. The seldom-acted and indeed seldom-read Henry VI engages our attention. On February 15, 1722–23, Ambrose Philips (the original Namby-Pamby, and one of Pope's numerous enemies) produced at Drury Lane, Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester, a tragedy founded on the first three acts (as was Crowne's Murder of Humphrey Duke of Glocester) of the second part of Shakespeare's trilogy on Henry VI. Philips's tragedy hardly demands treatment in my scheme; Genest says about thirty

of the lines are from Shakespeare, and Philips, in an address to the Reader, admits the inclusion of something like that number. The Dedication to William Pulteney rather laboriously insinuates the author's desire of "inculcating those Principles, which tend to the Service of the King, and the Welfare of the Nation." Beyond a general resemblance in subject-matter, however, the play can in no way be said to be derived from Shakespeare's.

In the first place, Philips represents the Duchess of Gloucester as an innocent, wronged woman, free of guile as of pride. The sorcery Shakespeare's heroine indulges in is clearly a fabrication of Philips's Queen Margaret, Suffolk and Beaufort; her penance of walking barefoot and sheeted through the streets is not shown; she does not go into banishment but is detained in London, by her friends' devices, and is present shortly after the murder of her husband. York, Salisbury and Warwick are eager, helpful friends of Gloucester—in extraordinary contrast to Shakespeare's trio. The play really degenerates into a little cabal in the palace, quite in the vein of Philips's period—in life and on the stage. It takes a long time in the telling, and, like Crowne, Philips beats out his matter very thin. Naturally, Beaufort is much melodramatised, and must have seemed a devilish person to his audiences; conversely, Humfrey is made almost too good to be true. Most of the scenes are Philips's own, though the murder of Humfrey is Shakespearian in treatment. The King, Henry VI, does not appear in the course of the action, but is frequently referred to, by his "loving" spouse and her lover, as well as by Warwick and his faction, as a degenerate weakling, the opposite faction describing him as bigoted and papistical. This latter, of course, is simply contrary to the spirit of Henry's wholly Catholic time, but, like Crowne, Philips falls into the error. With a popish pretender lurking just beyond the view, perhaps it would have been too much to expect the author to refrain. At any rate, he delivers many blows at the Catholic church, especially in his caricature of Cardinal Beaufort. As acted by Colley Cibber, this

last-named character was probably highly effective. The play was given occasionally for a year or two, and then was buried forever. It is a pity, as I have said, that no one ever thought of enacting just the first three acts of Shakespeare's second Henry VI, without dilution or alteration; I am sure they would make a good play; but what could be done with the dull, protracted *longueurs* of Crowne and Philips? To do these gentlemen justice, their time, like Jonson's, had not conceived of a tragedy in fewer than five acts; they fell victims to their own rules.

THEOPHILUS CIBBER'S HENRY VI

On July 5, 1723, was produced at Drury Lane Theophilus Cibber's picking from the second and third parts of Henry VI. His first act is made up of matter from the fifth act of Shakespeare's second part; his second and third acts are composed of scenes from, respectively, the first and second acts of Shakespeare's third part. Cibber generously includes Crowne's very pretty scene between York and young Rutland, but in the episode of York's death omits the crowning of him with the paper crown. York is tortured with the sight of a napkin dyed in Rutland's blood, and the child's body is brought in to add to the father's agony. The third act, on the scene of battle, though it contains Henry's long soliloquy, omits the episodes of the father who has killed his son in battle, and of the son who has killed his father.

Acts IV and V are composed of much more original matter, chiefly to add what we moderns are pleased to call love interest. Anne, daughter of the Earl of Warwick, is introduced, as well as her sister Elizabeth, who has married the Duke of Clarence. The young Prince Edward is very much smitten with Anne, and there is use made of Clarence's love for Elizabeth in explaining his curious tergiversation. He has deserted his brother's cause, to win Warwick's daughter; now, possessed of her, he wishes father-in-law at the devil, so to speak, and goes back to York, his

natural allegiance. This allows a rather pretty scene for Elizabeth in which like Desdemona she laments, to Anne, the divided duty between husband and father which she does perceive. Another scene of long adieux between Anne and her princeling lover no doubt brought tears to gentle Eighteenth-Century eyes.

In effect, much of the wording of this play is Shakespeare's, but, in the heroic cutting and transposing which his plan imposed, Cibber was forced to supply many of the gaps or missing links with matter of his own. I cannot refrain from quoting Queen Margaret's unblushing appropriation of Henry V's great address to the soldiers in the play named after him. "Thus far," she cries,

> Thus far with Speed, and easy March, we are come,
> Now let us doff our silken Robes of Peace,
> And arm our Minds and Bodies for fell War;
> Stiffen the Sinews, summon up the Blood,
> Disguise fair Nature with hard favour'd Rage,
> And lend the Eye a terrible Aspect;
> Now set the Teeth, and stretch the Nostril wide;
> Hold hard the Breath, and rouze up e'ery [*sic*] Spirit
> To its full Height. On, on, you noblest *English*,
> Whose blood is fetch'd from Fathers of War Proof,
> Fathers, that like so many *Alexanders*,
> Have in these parts from Morn till Evening fought,
> And sheath'd their Swords for lack of Argument.
> Dishonour not your Mothers; now attest,
> That those whom you call'd Fathers did beget you, etc.

No wonder her son answers, somewhat as in Shakespeare (the second part of Henry VI, Act V, Scene 4):

> Methinks a Woman of this valiant Spirit
> Shou'd, if a Coward heard her speak these Words,
> Infuse his Breast with Magnanimity,
> And make him, naked, foil a Man at Arms.

Poor Theophilus made no success of this effort, but it may be said of him that his attempt on Henry VI is no worse than any one else's; perhaps the thing he and others

tried to do cannot be done, at least not well, as Johnson said of the dog walking on its hind legs.

AARON HILL'S HENRY V

The last of these historical murders was perpetrated by Aaron Hill, another name not wholly unconnected with Pope and the Dunciad. This well-meaning person wrote a Henry V and put money in the scenic adornments thereof; he also supplied considerable love-interest, legitimate and illegitimate. There is a great deal of the Princess of France and also of one Harriet; but of these doings more anon. Hill says his play is a new fabric, yet he built on Shakespeare's foundation; his prologue is filled with the usual adulation of Shakespeare; his name bids "our aw'd Scenes with conscious Reve'rence shake." "Yet what our Author cou'd, he dar'd to try, And kept the fiery Pillar in his Eye."

Of course the play is unified; most of it takes place before Harfleur or Agincourt. To insure unity, the Princess always has a pavilion nearby; I am sure I do not know why she was there. Cambridge, Scroop and Gray keep on plotting throughout the play; Scroop's animosity is greatly augmented by the sad fortunes of his niece Harriet, who had been betrayed by Henry V, when prince. She goes back and forth in boy's clothes, carrying messages between her uncle's friends and the Duke of Bourbon.

Meantime, the Princess feels that in these marriage negotiations she is being sold; she longs for love, and remembers an English courtier whom she had seen in France some time before. Of course, this was not Owen Tudor, as she suspects, but the King himself; consequently, when the preliminaries are about to be discussed at a barrier on a bridge (query: why on a bridge?), one sound of the beloved, remembered voice melts the Princess's pride, and she yields her love. But the match cannot be arranged just yet, apparently; this gives the Princess a chance to send her confidant, Charlot, later, to warn the King of the Cambridge-Scroop

conspiracy. After Charlot has warned him, Harriet enters, intending to kill him; he softens her, however, by telling her he really loved her and is sorry that he wronged her—love did it. Overcome by this powerful logic, she conveniently kills herself. Cambridge and Scroop are caught, as in Shakespeare, and are put to death.

All of the comic characters are left out of this play, as out of Orrery's Henry V; but, as I have said before, Orrery's play has nothing to do with Shakespeare's. One cannot say as much of Hill's: he has "lifted" many speeches, especially in the first act, where York and Exeter before Harfleur—rather late in the day to discuss such matters—debate Henry's right to the French throne; these two use much of Canterbury's and Ely's speech in the original play, though it has suffered the usual sickening change of phrasing, in places. The King's speech on the tennis-balls is also mostly Shakespearian. Of course with all the new intrigue of Harriet, Charlot, the Princess and Bourbon, Hill was forced to write much of his own play. The last act, however, again has Shakespearian material. Compared with Shakespeare's manly, heroic play, this thing, with its maudlin sentimentality and Eighteenth-Century affectation, is trifling in the extreme. The blight of artificiality is upon it; Henry V has certainly been made to join the body dandiacal, with a vengeance. Hill has minced the good roast beef of old England.

Before I leave this phase of my subject, let me remark that in 1722, after the death of Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, two tragedies of his were published. They are called Julius Cæsar and Marcus Brutus, and they are an expansion into ten acts of the five of Julius Cæsar. I am spared the necessity of entering into any details of these, because they were never acted. The curious may find them in a book, and see how much water has weakened the wine of the original; but, thank heaven, I do not have to divulge here all the mysteries of the dilution. Let the reader, not intent on actual stage history, look up for himself these merely literary curiosities.

MORE COMEDIES

The adapters, wearied by the concentrated attacks of 1719–23, made no more onslaughts on the invincible one for twelve happy years. Every device of those four years had proved unavailing; it had perished in the attempt. But by 1735 the enemy had gathered new strength, and began to show new signs of a willingness to kill whom they loved. As in the earlier part of the Cibber *régime*, they began with The Taming of the Shrew, and advanced thereafter to more daring feats.

During those twelve years a great change had taken place in the theatre. Booth and Wilks had died, and Cibber was henceforward to appear only occasionally as guest-star. Fleetwood was in charge of Drury Lane. Quin was now the leading actor of his day, but at best only a secondary player as compared with a Betterton, or probably even the Barton Booth of that time. Best of all, the great revival of Shakespeare's comedies—The Merchant of Venice, Twelfth Night, As You Like It, etc.—was but five years away. Shakespeare was rarely maltreated thereafter, as he had been during the eighty years of Betterton and Cibber that we have attempted to describe.

A CURE FOR A SCOLD

Meantime, on February 25, 1735, Drury Lane (as usual) began the new attack with A Cure for a Scold, a "Ballad Farce" of two acts (founded upon Shakespear's Taming of a Shrew) by J. Worsdale, Portrait Painter. This trifle, fortunately, need detain us but a minute. It is obviously based on Sauny the Scot of unblest memory, though but little of Sauny himself remains in his successor, Archer (Grumio). The play is wholly in prose, has much resemblance to Lacy's, and preserves much of Shakespeare's diction. Baptista becomes Sir William Worthy; Petruchio, Manley (Macklin played the part); Lucentio, Gainlove; Bianca, Flora; and Katharine (as in Lacy), Peg. With such

a name for the heroine the thing would just have to be in prose. Lacy's devices for taming the shrew are employed to some extent; the tooth-pulling episode is retained, though the threat to carry Peg's body through the streets is not used. Instead, a physician comes in, and treats her, preparing to bleed her, etc.; whereupon she admits defeat and gracefully succumbs. There are many songs scattered through the piece, for Peg, Flora, Manley and Archer, chiefly.

The greatest difference from Shakespeare is in the Flora-Gainlove plot. The supplying of Flora (Bianca) with masters in language and music is eliminated; Gainlove merely determines to elope with her, when her father insists on her marrying Heartwell. With the aid of Lucy, inevitable intriguing chambermaid of the Eighteenth-Century type, Gainlove wins the girl. This whole episode is very much of its time and very remote from Shakespeare's. The play, as a whole and in its own rough style, is not bad farce. It was played again in 1750, but in 1756 Garrick's Catharine and Petruchio drove it forever from the repertoire. It is included here for completeness of record rather than for its intrinsic importance.

THE UNIVERSAL PASSION

One would not expect much of a play named The Universal Passion, even in a day that loved such abstract titles for its poems. This effort, by James Miller, was honoured with performance at Drury Lane, on February 28, 1737, and soon joined its fellows in oblivion. The reader will be amused to hear that it is a combination of Molière's Princesse d'Elide and Much Ado about Nothing, the latter of which once before had been forced by Davenant into an unnatural union, at that time with Measure for Measure. Davenant must have married his two plays because of their extreme unlikeness; Miller joined his two, apparently, because of their resemblance. At any rate, his two proud, haughty heroines and the tactics of disdain used by

their destined husbands are so similar that one is painfully afflicted with a sense of monotony in reading the two stories side by side. One is amazed at the lack of dramatic instinct involved in the selection of two such similar fables for one play. Yet it must have been pleasing to come on so large an infusion of Much Ado about Nothing in a day of such arid comic drama. The managers were to learn three years later that Shakespeare's comedies were better when played as he left them; for this valuable lesson I repeat that I believe they had to thank Charles Macklin, the Touchstone, Malvolio and Shylock of the near future.

But let us examine The Universal Passion. The first of the first act is almost wholly un-Shakespearian, and consists largely of Molière's Princesse d'Elide. Bellario talks with Lucentius, his tutor, and Joculo, a sort of Touchstone-courtier. He loves Lucilia, daughter of the Duke Gratiano. She, a proud, haughty damsel, rails at love. Bellario has sent Joculo on a fruitless errand of love to her; he now decides to change tactics and will be proud, haughty, disdainful himself. Enter Lucilia, Liberia (Beatrice) and Delia (who later plays the part of Margaret at the window). Liberia chides her cousin for pride; this comes with good grace from Beatrice! The Knights, says she, have got up the hunting party for Lucilia, and Lucilia won't even attend! Now comes Protheus to the home of Gratiano. His entrance is preceded by a messenger, and Liberia talks a good deal of jolly Shakespeare. When Protheus comes in, he and Liberia indulge in Beatrice-Benedick badinage in Shakespeare's own words; for this relief much thanks!

In the second act, Bellario's scorn has roused the ire of Lucilia, with the natural, inevitable result. She, to test him, pretends to love one Clodio (not shown); Bellario almost gives himself away, then, pulling himself together, he protests that he loves Liberia. At this Lucilia becomes very wrathy. Byron plots to kill his brother Gratiano in the forest, during the hunt; Gremio is to secure bandits. The plot fails; Gratiano is rescued by Bellario. Gratiano declares now that his daughter must wed the deliverer; she

yields. This is at the beginning of Act III; from this time on, practically all the material is from Much Ado. Byron, having failed in killing his brother, works up the Margaret-Borachio (Delia-Gremio) plot. The scene in church is used, Protheus speaking the long advice-speeches of the Friar.

The "Kill Claudio" scene follows. Previously, the two plots against Benedick and Beatrice in the arbour have been employed; Joculo taking the place of Don Pedro in the first and of Ursula in the second. Liberia, being cast to Mrs. Clive, naturally sings four songs, including

Sigh no more, Virgins, sigh no more,

and one duet with Delia. She just sings—whenever she gets an opportunity. The play ends with a dance.

The device of having Claudio choose the veiled niece is used; the scene in the tomb is omitted. Much of the dialogue is Shakespeare's at the end of the play, though Benedick and Beatrice have much added to their scenes, especially in that one where Liberia (Beatrice) summons Protheus (Benedick) to dinner. Joculo and Delia have two good Eighteenth-Century scenes, he witty and light, she pert and lady's-maidish. They marry in the end.

Here is a speech worth noting, in the days just preceding the revival of Twelfth Night; as I say, these petty playwrights must have assumed their audiences never read Shakespeare. Gratiano speaks, to "Slow Musick," just before he challenges Claudio-Bellario (the character of Antonio is omitted):

> That Strain again—it had a dying Fall:
> O it came o'er my Ear like the sweet *South*
> Breathing upon a Bank of Violets,
> Stealing and giving Fragrance—'twill not do;
> Alas no Comfort can delight my Ear, etc.

LILLO'S MARINA

Remains George Lillo's Marina, founded on part of that curiously amorphous thing, Pericles. The author of George

Barnwell may have seen something bourgeois in the story of poor little Marina in Shakespeare's play, and have taken it for the middle-class audiences to which he catered. The prologue is a good bit of Shakespearian criticism, recognising the impossibility of ascribing the "whole unequal play" to the bard, and shows reasons for selecting merely the best of the strangely assorted mass for present revival. The whole play—a very short one—deals simply with the fortunes of Marina, now grown to womanhood. Lillo has, as usual, taken liberties with the original. At the beginning, Cleon and Dionyza, with whom Pericles had left Marina, for safe and proper upbringing, are dead. It is their daughter Philoten (who does not appear in the Shakespeare play) that is the enemy (through jealousy) of Marina, and hires Leonine to kill her. The scenes between Marina and Leonine, and between her and the pirates, are as in Shakespeare, though much amplified, especially in the talk of the pirates, who from the first intend to sell Marina for immoral purposes. The second scene of the first act is laid in the Bawd's house in Ephesus; Valdes, the pirate, who does not appear in Shakespeare, brings in Marina and sells her, and the ensuing scene between the Bawd, Bolt and Marina, unpleasant enough in Shakespeare, is considerably lengthened.

The first episode of Act II is a highly wrought melodramatic situation in Tarsus. Philoten and Leonine indulge in mutual recrimination somewhat as do De Flores and Beatrice in The Changeling of Thomas Middleton, Leonine insisting on sharing the throne with his partner in crime. She has to pretend to yield, and meantime Pericles comes for his daughter, Marina, so long ago left in charge of Philoten's parents. There are long scenes of dull lamentation by Pericles, when Philoten tells him of his loss. He looks on Marina's tomb, resolves to wear sackcloth, remain unshaven, and be generally uncomfortable for the rest of his life. The unanswered query is, as in Shakespeare, why he had not come before for this daughter, whose death now causes him to mourn. After he goes out, Philoten tells

Leonine she has poisoned him; he stabs her in return; and thus two wicked birds are killed almost with one stone.

The third act returns to Ephesus, showing Marina, by her goodness, ruining the business of the disreputable house in which she is living. Lysimachus enters, really *à la* Haroun-al-Raschid, to spy on the place, but is inflamed by the sight of Marina's beauty; she converts him, and by his connivance she escapes from imprisonment. In this version Lysimachus is the son of Cerimon, who restored Thaisa, Pericles's queen, when she was cast up by the sea. She is now, of course, a priestess in the temple of Diana at Ephesus, whither Lysimachus transports Marina for safekeeping. When Pericles appears on the scene, it is only a question of how long it will take him to recognise his wife and daughter, and bestow the latter on Lysimachus.

So far as this subject-matter could be made pleasing Lillo has made it so; the Bolt-Bawd episodes are too offensive to be tolerated. Much of Shakespeare's poetry has been retained, and the three-act play has something of the spirit of Shakespeare in it. After all, Lillo was a bigger man than your Johnsons and Millers.

SUMMARY

This was the last attempt, before Garrick, to "improve" Shakespeare. In looking back over the history of Cibber's age, offered above, the reader will observe that on the whole no permanent addition was made to the repertoire of Shakespearian mutilations; not one of those versions discussed survived even a few of the irrevocable years. The age carried forward persistently, however, until its very close, the King Lear of Nahum Tate, the Macbeth of Davenant, the Richard III of Colley Cibber, The Tempest of Dryden and Davenant, and The Jew of Venice of George Granville; it used, for greater or less extended duration of time, the Caius Marius of Otway and the Timon of Athens of Shadwell; and occasionally revived Durfey's Cymbeline and Dryden's Troilus and Cressida. All for Love, if one

accepts that as related to Antony and Cleopatra, persisted. But new contributions died almost before they were born. Those Ladies of Quality who, in 1737–38, urged Rich at Covent Garden to revive certain Shakespearian works, and the influence (was it Macklin's?) at Drury Lane that in 1740–41 put on The Merchant of Venice, Twelfth Night and As You Like It, probably responded more or less consciously to a public demand for Shakespeare's plays in greater purity of text and plot. And the real Richard II of 1737–38, and the real Merchant of Venice of 1741, preceded by an almost inappreciable distance of years the real Macbeth revived by Garrick and something like the real Romeo and Juliet produced by Theophilus Cibber, both in 1744.

SIGNS OF CHANGE, 1737–1742

I pause for a moment to speak more at large of those revivals of genuine Shakespeare in the last years of this *régime*. I had often wondered whether those "ladies of quality" at whose "desire" Rich produced several of the historical plays at Covent Garden were real or fictitious; we have seen for half a century performances of more or less importance always heralded by a similar formula. I have recently, however, found reason for believing that these ladies were real and not an advertising fiction. In a pamphlet, probably by Ralph, The Case of our Present Theatrical Disputes fairly Stated (1743), occur the words: "Our great Concern therefore in this Respect ought to be, encouraging Old Plays. . . . This is still in our Power, and the Ladies of the *Shakspear* Club, gave a very noble Instance of its being their Inclination." Was this "noble Instance" the production of the four historical plays in question? If so, what a lesson to present-day Drama Leagues and Societies! Spirit of an age of Women's Clubs, bow your head before those puissant ladies of 1737!

Whatever the actual power that brought these plays on the stage, a reading of the advertisements in the papers will convince us that they were Shakespeare's works, not mod-

ern perversions thereof. King John and the first part of Henry VI evidently did not survive their birth-pangs on the stage, but Richard II and Henry V had a very pretty success, the former being acted many times. For the benefit of Mr. Wood, Treasurer, it was given—after a long run before—on the 2nd of May, 1738, and the advertisement is so specific as to scenes shown that we see at once how much of Shakespeare was generously offered in the revival. It is advertised as "containing the memorable Impeachment of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, by Henry Bolingbroke Duke of Hereford, Son of John of Gaunt; the Ceremonial Order of their Trial of Combat in the Royal Presence, agreeable to the Ancient Law of Arms, and the Banishment of the Two Dukes; the Death of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster; the Return of Henry Bolingbroke from Banishment; and his Artful Acquisition of the Crown; King Richard's formal Resignation of the Crown in the House of Peers; His Imprisonment at Pontefract Castle, and his Murther there by Sir Piers of Exton, with many other Historical Passages and Proper Decorations." This goes pretty regularly through the course of Shakespeare's play, the notable absentee being the Queen, but we may hope she was included in the "many other Historical Passages" vaguely grouped in the announcement. As a matter of fact, I suspect the advertiser selected for specification those scenes most spectacular in effect, especially as he joins the word "decorations" to his concluding flourish.

That Henry V was curtailed but little I gather from the fact that in the published cast of the play all the characters are provided for, Henry, Canterbury, Exeter, Gloucester, Bedford, Westmoreland, Cambridge, Scroop, Gray, Gower, King of France, Dauphin, Burgundy, Constable, Queen, Katherine (not Alice, however), and the whole crowd of comic personages that reverence for the unities in 1738 might have induced a stage-manager to curtail, if not wholly to lop away; but here they are, every one, Fluellen, Pistol, MacMorris, Jamy, Williams, Bates, Nym, Bardolph, Page, Hostess. Surely the force of reverence could not farther

go. The reader may find by examining the bill of As You Like It on the opposite page that it embraces the entire *dramatis personæ*—practically. This consoles for Love in a Forest, The Universal Passion, and other forgotten vagaries. For this version Arne wrote the still popular music for the two songs of Amiens ("Under the greenwood tree" and "Blow, blow, thou winter wind"); also for "When daisies pied," interpolated from Love's Labour's Lost, and sung on this occasion by Celia (Mrs. Clive). In later years, Rosalind appropriated the song.

The story of Macklin's revival of The Merchant of Venice in 1741 has been too often recounted to need telling here; it is one of the best-known of theatrical stories. I have often wished I might see his prompt-copy; but a reading of the cast of the original bill will show how closely he kept to Shakespeare. The characters called for include both Gobbos, one of whom the chill goddess of Eighteenth-Century Unity might have been expected to banish, and both princely suitors to Portia—"Morochius" and Arragon. Tubal naturally was retained as a "feeder" for Shylock in his great scene of passion. The wonder still grows—if I may be pardoned for lack of unity—that the sprightly Kitty Clive was selected to play Portia; probably it was a last concession to the spirit that had for so long regarded Granville's Jew of Venice as a very funny, not to say farcical, entertainment. In 1742 Arne supplied Portia with a song; also Lorenzo began to sing the two ditties that lasted through the century.

It gives me pleasure to quote, at the very close, a contemporary statement as to the revival of one of these plays so long neglected. In the Gentleman's Magazine for January, 1741, is a communication from a gentleman who went to Drury Lane Theatre, merely to see the Italian comic dancers, Signor and Signora Fausan, but who found one of Shakespeare's comedies dividing the honours with Terpsichore:

> I was surpriz'd on my entring into the Pit to find it almost full, but was inform'd by my Friend, the House had been crowded ever since *Shakespear's* Play of, *As You like it*, had been acted and these

The Fifteenth *Day.*

By HIS MAJESTY's Company of Comedians,
AT THE
THEATRE ROYAL in *Drury-Lane.*
This preſent FRIDAY, being the Ninth of JANUARY, *1741.*
Will be Preſented a COMEDY call'd
AS YOU LIKE IT.

Written by SHAKESPEAR.

Duke, ſen. by Mr. *MILLS*,
Duke Frederick by Mr. *WRIGHT*,
Jaques by Mr. *QUIN*,
Orlando by Mr. *MILWARD*,
Amiens by Mr. *LOWE*,
Touchſtone by Mr. *CHAPMAN*,
Oliver by Mr. *Caſhell*, Adam by Mr. *Berry*
Silvius by Mr. *Woodward*, Phœbe by Miſs *Bennet*,
Le Beu, Jaques de Boys, Corin by Mr. *Ridout*, Mr. *Turbutt*, Mr. *Taſwell*
Charles, William, Audry by Mr. *Winſtone*, Mr. *Ray*, Mrs. *Egerton*,
Cælia by Mrs. *CLIVE*,
Roſalind by Mrs. *PRITCHARD*,
The Songs new Set by Mr. ARNE.

With Entertainments of DANCING, Particularly,
End of Act I. a Comic Dance, call'd The *French Peaſants*, by
Monſ. NIVELON and Madem. DUVAL, *&c.*
End of Act III. *La Provençalle*, by
Mademoiſelle CHATEAUNEUF.
End of Act IV. a Dance call'd *La Tamborein Matelote*, by
Monſieur *and* Madam MALTERE, *&c.*

To which will be added, a Patomime Entertainment, call'd
ROBIN GOODFELLOW;
Or, The RIVAL SISTERS.

HARLEQUIN to be Perform'd by Mr. *WOODWARD*,
First *Colombine*, Miſs *MANN*, Second *Colombine*, Mrs. *WALTER*,
And the Part of *Slouch*, by Mr. *MACKLIN*,
Concluring with a Grand Serious Ballet, by
Monſieur *and* Madam MALTERE, *&c.*

The DANCES depending greatly on the Muſic, 'tis humbly hop'd no Perſons will take it ill, that they can't be admitted into the Muſic room.

Boxes 5 s. Pit 3 s. First Gallery 2 s. Upper Gallery 1 s.
To begin exactly at Six o'Clock *VIVAT REX.*

PROGRAMME OF THE REVIVAL OF AS YOU LIKE IT, AT DRURY LANE THEATRE, 1741

From the Harvard Theatre collection

Dancers had perform'd. I could not but reflect on the just Taste of the Publick, who had receiv'd so fine a Piece with such universal Approbation. But then I knew not how to reconcile, that those polite Audiences, who gave judicious Applause to every beautiful Sentiment of *Shakespear*, should at the same time be delighted with the Gesticulations and Capers of a Foreign Mimic. At the end of the Third Act these Foreign Dancers were to perform a Comic Dance call'd, *Le Buffon*, or the *Idiot*. . . . At the end of the Play they danced another Comic Dance, call'd the *Swedish Gardiners* . . .

CHAPTER IX

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF STAGING

APRON, REAR STAGE, AND PROSCENIUM DOORS

Most of the principles enunciated for the stage of Betterton undoubtedly prevailed throughout the era of Cibber. The intense conservatism of the stage, if nothing else, would lead to this inference; but proof sufficient, or nearly so, may be adduced from various documents now to be cited.

We may say at the outset that the "apron" remained the scene of much of the vaguer, "unpropertied" action, the proscenium doors still serving as ports of entry. So late as 1731, The Spendthrift, a Comedy "as it is Acted at the New Theatre in the Haymarket," begins: "Act I, Scene I. Enter Phillis at one Door, and Sam at another, talking to himself. Scene St. James's Park [!]." Front-flats, at whatever distance desired behind the proscenium, still opened to display a more elaborate setting in the depths of the stage. Raking-pieces, or built-up effects, were unknown, except at the opera, or in very special productions, like Aaron Hill's Henry V, on the bridge of which we shall soon be standing with royalty. Usually all the ground of action was level with the stage-floor.

For proof of the survival of the apron as scene of action, one need but examine the opening of many contemporary plays. Aaron Hill's Fatal Vision, or Fall of Siam, produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1716, begins: "Scene, a Palace in the City Sosala, in Siam. Enter at several Doors, Sizanger and Arbanes." After brief preliminary dialogue on the "apron," the very interesting and unusual direction follows: "As Selim passes inward, through an Arch of the Palace, he meets the Emperor, attended by his Officers and Guards. He kneels and delivers the Letter, which the Emperor, having seated himself on a Throne, seems to peruse with Plea-

sure, and then speaks." This arch, actually open and not painted, is a remarkable innovation, and indicates that the play began with a full set instead of the usual front-scene that "draws." In any case, the actor is forced to the unpleasing awkwardness of walking up-stage with his back to the audience, to get into the picture with the other actors who enter from the rear for the imposing tableau of the Emperor on his throne.

Usually the effect is brought about by the more arbitrary device of drawing the flats, as in The Drummer of Addison, produced in the same year at the rival theatre. Here, for the appearance of mysterious Fantome, "the back Scene opens, and discovers Fantome with a Drum." The curious thing is, that when the back scene is displayed, the front or "apron," as in Betterton's day, becomes immediately incorporated into it, though just before it had been supposed to be separated from it by a wall of brick and mortar. This leads to a further highly important remark; the actors, as in the Restoration days, continue to remain on the stage while such change is taking place, and pass at once into the new scene as if they had gone through the wall arbitrarily set up and removed at will. An astonishing instance of this occurs in Edward Young's Busiris, brought out in 1719. The opening scene is a temple at Memphis, and, after the departure of Busiris and others, Mandane, the heroine, enters to the sacrifice. In the very midst of her speech, the "back Scene draws," representing an entirely different part of the temple. The text of the play reads thus, Mandane being the talker:

> These lonely Walks, this deep, and solemn Gloom,
> Where Noon-day Suns but glimmer to the View,
> This House of Tears, and Mansion of the Dead,
> Forever hides him from the hated Light,
> And gives him Leave to groan.
>
> *Back Scene draws, and shews Memnon leaning on his Father's Tomb.*
>
> Was ever Scene
> So mournful! If, my Lord, the dead alone
> Are all your Care, Life is no more a Blessing.

It will be observed that the lady is so little astonished by the architectural backslidings of the building, that she goes right on bombasting out her blank verse to a melancholy end worthy of the author of the Night Thoughts of many years after. As if this reversal of natural laws were not enough, Young, in the fourth act, accomplishes a double wonder, almost unique in my experience of plays so late as this. In the first scene "Enter Myron in the utmost Disorder, bare-headed, without Light, &c. Walks disturbedly before he speaks." All this, I take it, is on the outer stage. The doors (undoubtedly the proscenium doors) are burst open. Servants pass the stage (undoubtedly the apron) in tumult, etc. Much later, "the back Scene opens. A darken'd Chamber, a Bed, and the Curtains drawn. Women pass out, weeping." The interesting part is that Nicanor and Rameses, who were on the stage when the back scene was drawn, do not interrupt their colloquy, Nicanor, in view of the scene of mourning thus shown, exclaiming,

> Is't possible—my Child! my only Daughter!

Mandane comforts him, and "the Scene shuts on them." But Rameses, who had witnessed the woe, remains on the outer stage, and immediately proceeds to talk with Syphoces, who enters. Here, then, is a case of an actor standing still while his location is changed from one place to another, and still standing on the same spot, while he is supposedly transported to possibly a third *milieu*. This dizzying necromancy, without the aid of a magic carpet, must have been implicitly accepted by the actors, the playwrights and the audiences of the time as something similar had been accepted in The Empress of Morocco (1673); literally, to their imaginations stone walls did not a prison make.

Yet a critic occasionally protested. In the year of the production of Busiris (1719) appeared Critical Remarks on the Four Taking Plays of this Season; viz. Sir Walter Raleigh, The Masquerade, Chit-Chat and Busiris King of Egypt. By Corinna, a Country Parson's Wife. Corinna

says she knows not "by what Art" or "Egyptian Magick" the Author makes "the back Scene draw open to discover Memnon leaning on his Father's Tomb," causing "the solid Pillars and Marble of the Temple" to "vanish away of a sudden." "But," says the Parson's Wife, "we have no Notion of opening and shutting Scenes, that is, removing of Walls and Partitions, meerly to show us that the Author's ill Contrivance can find no other Ways to do." This Corinna was apparently far ahead of her [his?] time.

The reader will have noted my insistence on the practical use of the proscenium doors. I may say that I am quite convinced they were still conceived of as part of the scene. In Jane Shore (produced in 1714) the heroine enters, in disgrace and sorrow (Act V), before the house of Alicia. According to the stage-direction, "She knocks at the Door"; servant answers and shortly "shuts the Door." Jane then "sits down at the Door." That it was the proscenium entry thus specified I believe from my knowledge of Eighteenth-Century staging; but Boaden, speaking of Mrs. Siddons's performance of the part in 1782, says: "There was in my early days such a permanent property as a stage-door in our theatres, and the proscenium beyond it; so that when Shore was pushed from the door, she was turned round, and staggered till supported by the firm projection behind her. Here was a terrific picture full in the eye of the pit, and this most picturesque of women knew the amazing value of it." Who can doubt that the incomparable Siddons inherited this "business" as traditional, from Nance Oldfield, the creator of the part?

So much for the doors. The balcony above still was employed as indicated for the age of Betterton. The second scene of Mrs. Centlivre's Marplot (printed in 1711) is "the Street." Enter Charles with a Rope-ladder:

Cha. Let me see, she has chang'd her Appartment she has sent me Word.—Her window now is over the Door, this must be it.
[*Throws up his Ladder, which falls down again.*

In a few minutes, Margaritta enters, and bids him

"Come in the Door boldly"; he accedes with "in, in my Dear." There we have a very pretty illustration of the use, at the beginning of the Cibber era, of the proscenium door and balcony. To remove any doubt, we find, in the same scene, that Marplot "Exit between the Scenes"—that is, I take it, in the wings; and immediately, Don Perriera "Exit into the House"—by the same proscenium door, apparently. And, then, to make assurance double sure, Marplot forgets which is the house, and, possessed of Charles's ladder, "seems to throw up the ladder between the Scenes"—i. e., on the flats or between the wings—"and Exit."

A very interesting use of the balcony is shown in the very next scene of Marplot. This scene is Marton's "Appartment," in which she and Ravelin indulge in a love passage of no discreet intent. The stage direction says "Mar-plot in the Balcony." Had Marton's "appartment" such an architectural ornament? By no means. In a second the lady discovers Marplot and screams "Oh, a Man at my Window!" Ravelin "looks up and sees Mar-plot." There you have it. The window effect of the "balcony" could be utilised, not only when people looked out from their room into the street, but conversely when a spy or interloper looked from without inward! I think this very amusing, considering the distance of the balcony from the ground; but playgoers, as I have so often said, will accept any convention, if their imagination is satisfied. It must have been a slight wrench to verisimilitude, nevertheless, when Marplot scrambled down from this height, on Ravelin's command, "Come down, Sirrah . . . . or I'll shoot you thro' the Head." The stage direction succinctly says, he "Comes down." I cannot help wondering if the balcony figured in Act IV, Scene 1, when the "Letter ty'd to a Stone, is toss'd in at the Window," and Marplot "Runs to the Window." And what is the force of the word "seeming" when Isabinda "seeming to look out," carries on the business of the scene? Was she looking out between the wings? The reader can conjecture, as well as I.

USE OF THE CURTAIN

That the curtain, at the beginning of the period, did not fall between acts may be surmised from stage directions such as those at the opening of Acts II and IV in Jane Shore (1714), or Acts II, III and V of Lady Jane Grey (1715); in all these cases, we are told succinctly: "Scene continues." Might this not be taken to mean that it had been on view during the intermission? Also, at the beginning of Act II of The Drummer (1716), "Scene opens, and discovers Vellum in his Office." The question is, *what* scene opened, unless one that had been before the eyes of the audience? I am aware that the expression is occasionally used to indicate the beginning of a play; but at the initiation of subsequent acts the words seem to me to bear another signification.

That signification is supplied by Mrs. Centlivre, whose Cruel Gift was produced during the same year that brought out Addison's comedy. Act V begins with the formula made familiar by plays of the Betterton era: "Scene draws, and discovers Leonora sitting on a Couch, her Women Weeping round her." I cannot translate "scene draws" into "curtain rises." The scene at the close of the preceding act was "a Prison," easily conceivable as a pair of flats "in one," that had been visible until the next act began. But that the setting of the former act did not necessarily remain on view during the intermission we learn, once more from Mrs. Centlivre. Her Marplot (Drury Lane, December 30, 1710) closes Act I with a stage-direction that is treasure-trove to the delver in these ancient mysteries. The scene involved is "Colonel Ravelin's Lodgings," requiring for the business in hand a door and a chimney into which people may climb, or down which they may disappear through a trap. The final stage direction is "Goes into the Chimney, and the Scene shuts." *The scene shuts:* I dwell upon these words with unction; they satisfy me. The second act begins: "Scene, Donna Perriera's Apartment. Enter Margaritta and Charles." I can easily be-

lieve that this apartment was represented by a pair of flats that had "shut" on the setting of the last act and had been before the spectators ever since. When Act II began, it was easy for Charles and Margaritta to walk into the apartment through the customary entrance of one or both of the proscenium doors.

This evidence, it will be observed, concerns itself with the first years of the Cibber era. It is good evidence, but it will not pay to wander too far in the realm of conjecture. The only reference to the elusive curtain with which I am familiar in plays of the early Cibber era occurs in the Lucius of the ever helpful Mrs. Manley, produced at Drury Lane in 1717. In Act V, Scene I, after a scene apparently on the "apron," the "Curtain drawn up, discovers an Altar to Jupiter; Flamens attending; Lucius and the Queen under the British Guard"—the kind of elaborate tableau usually preluded, in Betterton's day, by the lowering of the curtain, to arrange details too complicated for successful manipulation in sight of the spectators. So far as 1717 is concerned, therefore, this employment of the curtain indicates no change from the Betterton practice.

An interesting prompter's direction that has crept into the much-abused 1719 version of Julius Cæsar is, I fear, but a wandering fire. Near the end of Act IV—after the scene of the quarrel between Brutus and Cassius, and at the close of the scene of the appearance of Cæsar's ghost—instead of the usual "Exit Ghost," are found the significant words, "Ring down." I at first tried to persuade myself that they were a direction to the prompter to signal, as they would be to-day, the ringing down of the curtain; I now lean to the theory that they were a signal to ring down the Ghost by the opening of a trap-door.

A little light from another angle may be thrown by Addison, a few years earlier. The Spectator (April 16, 1711) animadverts on "those particular Speeches" in tragedy "which are commonly known by the Name of *Rants*." These infinitely please the audience, and Addison begs his reader "when next he sees . . . *Œdipus*, to observe how

quietly the Hero is dismissed [i. e., by the spectators] at the End of the third Act, after having pronounced" some lines "in which the Thought is very natural . . . Let us then observe with what Thunder-claps of Applause he leaves the Stage, after the Impieties and Execrations at the End of the fourth Act."

This would seem not quite the language the Spectator would have used, if the curtain had fallen upon the speeches of Œdipus. The hero is "dismissed" by the audience, in one case, and in the other "leaves the stage"; no kindly curtain, I should judge, screened his departure. If the inevitable rhymed couplet did not apprise the auditor that the act was ended, and that he might now arise and "refresh his hams," no descending curtain warned him of that fact. The language employed by Addison in the passage is singularly like that of Dennis in the quotation from The Impartial Critick on page 130; as a matter of fact, both writers illustrate by reference to the same play—the Œdipus of Dryden and Lee.

In this connection the advertisement to Three Hours after Marriage (1717) would be more helpful, if it were less ambiguous. In it Gay distinctly says that "as the Stage is left vacant but three times, so it properly consists but of three acts," each act ending, we may assume, when all the characters have disappeared from the scene, to pursue some course of action out of sight of the audience. Gay may, therefore, be using the expression in a literary sense, rather than in the sense that might be understood by a stage-manager. Owing to uncertainty as to the meaning, I do not force the evidence of the passage; it is here cited for what the reader thinks it is worth. I the more cheerfully resign this assistance in view of something unmistakable. In the Dramatic Works of Aaron Hill published in 1760 (approximately ten years after his death) is a pantomime opera, Merlin in Love. There is no way of learning when this was written; one might conjecture that it followed on the wave of popularity of pantomimic entertainment that reached a height in 1723; on the other hand,

Hill's correspondence during the '30's contains several letters to the managers of both theatres relative to *entr'acte* entertainment, both pantomimic and operatic. The editor of the plays in 1760 speaks of Merlin in Love in a way that makes one suspect he took it to be not very old, or at least not old-fashioned. "Mr. Hill," he says, "left [it] in manuscript," and it "seems calculated to please an English audience." The essential fact is that Hill knew perfectly the mechanical details of stage management in all the years of the Cibber era; his career as author, manager, dilettante, and what we should call newspaper man, extended from 1710 to 1742, and beyond. And twice in Merlin in Love he offers proof of what I have hesitated to affirm was true. In one place he provides a second swallow to make a summer of content, by confirming what Mrs. Centlivre offered as to flats closing in—at least sometimes—to conclude an act. The final direction of Act II in his opera tells us that "Harlequin leads her [Columbine] down into the cave: and the scene closes upon them." This is one of the most satisfactory things I have discovered in a search extending over many years. "The scene closes upon them"—flats clicked together behind them—as in Marplot in Lisbon, in 1710! What more could one ask?

The interesting fact is that these flats served every purpose of a curtain, for the next act begins with a set scene inside Merlin's cave, into which the two characters had just disappeared. Properties like a moss-bed, a table, books, and a large easy chair are required for the action that begins when Harlequin leads in Columbine. Behind the flats these must have been arranged between acts; when Act III began, Hill expected the flats to open—as a curtain to-day would rise—to reveal the cave and its furnishings.

But the scenery did not always "close upon" the actors. More often, it would seem, they departed, as in Betterton's day, by the proscenium doors. By these, perhaps, Addison saw Œdipus "leave the stage." Of this custom Merlin in Love offers positive proof, in the second of the two helpful stage directions I have spoken of. At the end of Act III,

"Merlin leads off Columbine: Harlequin, in sad, and dismal, airs, goes off, on the other side. They look back, step by step; and, at last, burst away, in agony, at the opposite doors; in mimic imitation of distress'd lovers in tragedy." This testimony is invaluable, not only for the fact that Hill expected to get his actors off, at the act-end, by the serviceable proscenium doors, but for the positive statement that those actors were burlesquing—as Cibber's had done in the Betterton time (page 137)—the usual mode of departure of actors in tragedy. Perhaps, in such case, the setting remained during the intermission and was "drawn off" to reveal the first scene of the following act.

A moment's reflection will show that departure by these doors was perfectly natural on the apron-stage of the early Eighteenth Century. With the great space between the proscenium and the orchestra pit, the actors would have been in an awkward predicament, if they had been compelled to walk to the curtain-line, with their backs to the audience, or if, in avoiding this contingency, they had been forced to back out of the presence of the audience as out of the presence of royalty. But how easily they could sidle out by the proscenium doors! Really, common sense points to this conclusion. When the apron was reduced, the curtain could come into play.

One wishes that it were possible to date this "opera" of Hill's. Meantime, a journey through the farces produced toward the end of our period will serve to reveal apparent continuance of the custom of Mrs. Centlivre (1710–16). The reader may recall the stress I laid upon The Rehearsal (1671) as illustrating Restoration principles of staging; a burlesque is very apt to reveal facts by parody. The decade 1730–40 is rich in stage-pieces modelled upon the Duke of Buckingham's famous *jeu d'esprit.* I wonder if I deceive myself in believing that they support a theory of the non-use of the curtain during the *entr'acte?* Let us examine James Ralph's Fashionable Lady, or Harlequin's Opera, in Form of a Rehearsal, as presented at Goodman's Fields, 1730. The form of the play is that perpetuated since the days of The Rehearsal. Modely, Ballad and Drama are

to watch the rehearsing of the "opera." Near the end of the first act the mock-players *exeunt*, and it is now the problem of the playwright to get Modely and the others off the stage. Obviously, I think, if the curtain fell, there would be no such problem. Ballad suggests a bottle of wine "within"; Modely hates "these villanous Gothick Tunes—But there's one Act over however, and I'll comfort myself with that Consideration." Was this information for the real audience in the real theatre?

At the end of the second act, the stage business is, to me, very illuminating. Drama begins, "There's an End of the Second Act, Gentlemen"; that is, of course, the second act of the mock-play. But observe the author's perplexity. The people rehearsing the "opera" are still on the stage, as are also Drama, Modely, &c. How to get them off? Naturally a falling curtain would remove all difficulties; but can any one, in reading the following elaborate exit-business, believe that a falling curtain came to the help of the author of The Fashionable Lady?

Ballad. . . . But, come, let us take t'other Bottle. What a Devil! Must these poor Rogues [i. e., the actors of the "opera"] wait here all the while like a Gang of gaping School-Boys at a Toy-Shop Window?

Pr'ythee, dismiss them, Mr. *Drama.*

Mean [*well*]. No, faith, I deny that; 'tis contrary to the Rules of Magick.

Drama. Well, Sir, I believe they'll think it no Hardship, if you furnish them with a Bottle, as well as us, for their Diversion, in the meantime.

Bal. With all my Heart; faith, they shall have a Bottle, and drink like Justices of the Quorum.

I did not think they would have call'd so soon;
Ah! must our Morning sun go down at Noon? [*Exeunt*

This is a pretty piece of evidence. I would not force it, but I, myself, find it hard to ignore. Observe that the watchers of the rehearsal are going out for "t'other Bottle"; but must the poor rogues of actors face the real audience, meanwhile, like "gaping School-Boys"? Rather get them "off," by inviting them to partake of the cheering cups

"behind." And to prove conclusively to the "real" audience that the act of the farce is ended, Ballad disappears with a rhymed "tag"—the customary warning that all was indeed over for another act.

An examination of Fielding's farces at the Haymarket in the decade 1730–40 would show that he lowered the curtain, indeed, but irregularly and very infrequently. In The Author's Farce (1730), the action concerns itself largely with the efforts of Luckless, the poet, to raise funds wherewith to pay Mrs. Moneywood, his landlady. Act III, however, takes place in "the Playhouse." Luckless and his friends enter for a rehearsal of his play. Apparently they are on the "apron," with the curtain lowered—it must have fallen at the end of the preceding act—and after several speeches, we read "the Curtain drawn discovers Punch in a great Chair"—a tableau as usual. The nonsense of the mock-play proceeds until the author calls out, "Gentlemen, this is the end of the first Interlude." The curtain again falls, presumably, to indicate a pause that is marked on the page by a printer's ornate design. The poet's first words, thereafter, are "Now, Gentlemen, I shall present you with the most glorious Scene that has ever appear'd on any Stage: It is *The Court of Nonsense.* Play away, soft Musick, and draw up the Curtain.

"The Curtain drawn up to soft Musick, discovers the Goddess of Nonsense on a Throne; the Orator in a Tub; Tragedio, &c. attending."

This "most glorious scene" was a burlesque; nevertheless, it required stage-room and arrangement, and necessitated a fall of the curtain. Of course, most of the action, as was usual in such pieces, was on the "apron." The reader observes that the curtain is "drawn" or "drawn up" but twice in the three acts of the farce, and both times in the course of the last act! If it fell at the end of the second act, it indubitably fell in the middle of the third!

In Pasquin (played in 1736, printed 1737), the "scene draws" sometimes, but only once is there a reference to the curtain. The first part of the farce deals with the rehearsal of Trapwit's comedy, the author and his friends

watching and criticising from seats on the "apron," as indicated in the frontispiece, reproduced on page 280. At the beginning of the rehearsal, the author impatiently cries, "But come, clear the Stage, and draw the back Scene." The rehearsal of Trapwit's comedy ends with Act III of Fielding's farce, and on it had fallen the curtain, perhaps to indicate that one part of the show had concluded. I guess this from evidence shortly to be adduced in connection with The Nest of Plays. At any rate, at the beginning of Act IV, Fustian, whose tragedy is now to be rehearsed, cries, "But come, Prompter, will the Tragedy never begin?" The Prompter at once replies, "Yes, Sir, they are all ready; come draw up the Curtain." The curtain rises, it is observed, when a new part of the show begins, just as in The Author's Farce it falls when Luckless cries out, "Gentlemen, this is the end of the first Interlude."

The most interesting of Fielding's contributions to the vexed question is to be found in The Historical Register for the Year 1736 (printed in 1737). Here the stage directions are illuminating. Medley, the author of the play, Sowrwit and Lord Dapper enter on the "apron," as usual, to attend the rehearsal. After the preliminary talk, we find:

Med[*ley*]. . . . . Now for my Play, *Prompter*, are the Politicians all ready at the table?

Promp. I'll go and see, Sir.

Med[*ley*]. My first Scene, Mr. *Sowrwit*, lies in the Island of *Corsica*, being at present the chief Scene of Politicks of all Europe.

Enter Prompter.

Promp. Sir, they are ready.

Med. Then draw the Scene, and discover them.

Scene draws, and discovers Five Politicians sitting at a Table.

"The scene draws," mark you; and exactly the same procedure is indicated in Act II, Scene I, when, apparently after an *entr'acte*,

Enter Medley, *Lord* Dapper, Sowrwit *and* Prompter.

Med. Come, draw the Scene, and discover the Ladies in Council; pray, my Lord, sit.

[*The Scene draws and discovers four Ladies.*

Will the reader observe that these are the very first words of the act? that as soon as the actors appear, Medley demands, not that the curtain be raised, but that the scene be drawn? This I consider very important. In the middle of this episode we find the most illuminating reference. The Prompter clears the stage of the gentlemen on the plea that he must—apparently for the first time—lower the curtain, and for the usual purpose—to arrange an elaborate tableau. I quote the passage entire:

Prompter. Gentlemen, you must make room, for the Curtain must be let down, to prepare the Auction-Room.
Medley. My Lord, I believe you will be best before the Curtain, for we have little Room behind, and a great deal to do.

. . . . . .

After a discussion of the subject-matter of the scene,

Prompter. Sir, every thing is ready.
Med. Then draw up the Curtain—Come, enter Mrs. *Screen*, and Mrs. *Barter*.

THE AUCTION

SCENE *an Auction-Room, a Pulpit and Forms plac'd, and several People walking about, some seated near the Pulpit.*
Enter Mrs. Screen *and Mrs.* Barter.

This seems to show that at least in the little theatre in the Haymarket in 1736 the curtain was not lowered regularly between acts; especially as the "scene draws" twice again in the same farce, as previously also it had been "drawn" twice. As usual, at the ends of acts there is a pause, and Fielding is very careful to clear the stage of actors. At the end of Act II, for instance, the party go out at Lord Dapper's suggestion, "to take a little Fire, for 'tis confounded cold upon the Stage." Medley's answer leaves no doubt of the pause in the proceedings: "I wait upon your Lordship," he says; "Stop the Rehearsal for a few Moments, we'll be back again instantly." The same care is shown at act-ends in Pasquin.

Again, by the obverse of the *lucus-a-non-lucendo*, I shall

bring to my aid Hildebrand Jacob's Nest of Plays, effectually damned at Covent Garden in January, 1738. This nest is composed of three entirely distinct one-act plays, and the significant fact is that at the end of each of the first two are printed the magic words *Curtain falls ;* words not occurring in copies of contemporary plays with which I am familiar. And why are these words found in this play? Because each act was a complete tragedy or comedy in itself, and the curtain fell to announce that fact? We know from Tate Wilkinson's memories of the early days of Garrick, that the curtain was lowered during the intermission between the play and the "entertainment"; somehow the curtain—the "green" one, remember—fell, I imagine, with an air of finality; something was completely ended when fate thus interposed the green baize. Well, each act of The Nest of Plays was complete in itself; hence the descending pall, to apprise the audience of its loss. In The Author's Farce and in Pasquin, the rising curtain, as I noted, may have been due to the transition from one part of the show to the next.

So far the testimony seems to be all on the side of the non-use of an *entr'acte* curtain. But we must not overlook a passage in Aaron Hill's second Prompter, November, 1734: "I shall . . . sweep the front and side Boxes with as little Ceremony and Respect as is shewn before the Curtain by Broomsticks of inferior Degree to obtruding Apples and Orange Peels." Of course the question at once arises as to how often the space "before the curtain" was thus cleared of wrecked fruit; was it only when the curtain was down between play and entertainment? Perhaps Hill's phrase is not to be taken literally, as implying that the curtain was lowered while the operation of sweeping was in progress. We use the expression to-day for the whole space of the theatre before the proscenium arch; why may not the Prompter have intended to signify by it the "apron," regardless of the actual position of the curtain—up or down —while the housecleaning was in progress? Of course the word "obtruding" is somewhat, though not wholly, against

this interpretation. But in a pamphlet, The Present State of the Stage in Great Britain and Ireland (1753), we are told that "Mr. Cross, the Prompter [at Drury Lane] . . . . very often behind the Curtain supports the Performer . . . . by supplying in proper Time the Defects of Treacherous Memory." Assuredly this was during the performance and —necessarily with the curtain up? Yet note the expression—"behind the Curtain"! If "behind the curtain," when the curtain was raised, why not "before the curtain" when it was in the same position? I am not arguing, I am merely asking a question. My sole desire is to arrive at the truth.

Of course, it must be remembered, as Marplot or Merlin in Love attests, that front flats in themselves served all practical purposes of a curtain; they could easily shut out the back stage from the view of the auditors during the *entr'acte*. The usage in Fielding, also, would seem to attest this. No doubt such a device was employed, especially when singers and dancers appeared between the acts. Some one finally discovered, I should guess, that a permanent painted drop-curtain would answer the purpose for all occasions. It occurs to me that a drop-curtain might have come in at the time when drop-scenes—scenes fixed on rollers—began to take the place of flats as actual scenes for the play. This undoubtedly would have been in the age of Garrick, as I shall later show. I am led to this belief—the belief of the synchronising of drop-scene and act-drop—by the evidence of actors of an earlier time, who say that in country theatres in America a few decades ago flats were still used at the ends of acts in lieu of a curtain—the houses being too poor to afford the luxury of a painted drop. In view of all this one can see the evolution from flats to drops and then the use of a permanent drop-curtain to cut off, in the minds of the audience, act from act. Until that consummation, front-flats served every purpose of a curtain, except at the beginning and the end of a play.

When that day arrived, and the audience had learned to recognise the drop-curtain, rhyming couplets would no

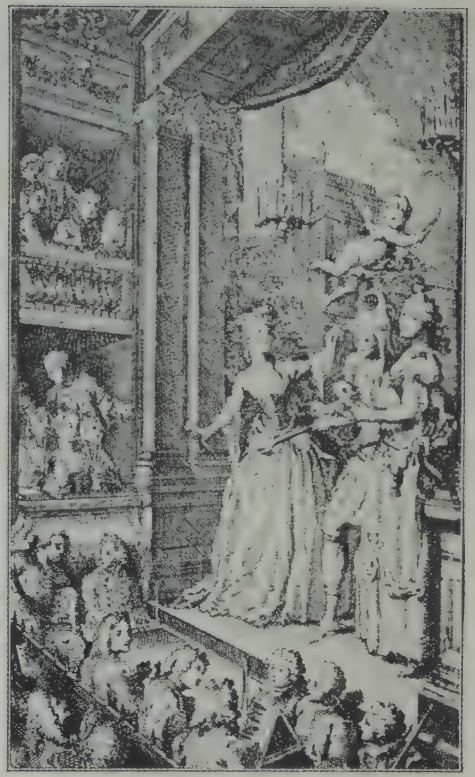
longer be needed to notify the spectators that an act had ended. Hill's Prompter (June 29, 1736) asserts that "we have found . . . . . the Disagreeableness of Rhyme in Dramatick Pieces, and have banished this *monkish Child*, from *Tragedy* and *Comedy*, except"—pray note this!—"except at the end of an Act, where she still maintains a very inconsiderable Portion of Empire."

Voltaire's statement that Hill banished tags with his translation of Zaire will not bear the light of investigation. That "tags" were still used, if not needed, in 1742, I gather not only from printed plays of the time, but from a burlesque Political Rehearsal, quite in the manner of Fielding, printed in the Westminster Journal of October 30th and November 6th of that year. In the course of this Bays says, "For, as my Act must now end here, it shall, according to modern Custom, be tagg'd with some Rhimes, and which are proper Introduction to my next." Yet, at the end of the mock-play, we are told succinctly, "Curtain drops."

LIGHTING AND MUSIC

As to lighting, the age of Cibber perfected the system that was to prevail until Garrick introduced new methods from France. Hoops or rings of candles hung above the stage became the ordinary mode of illuminating the scene and the actors; it is curious to find this method of overhead rays just coming back into the advanced staging of our own time, of course with this difference, that the lights are now concealed. The absurdity of the candles can be estimated when one remembers that they hung there in dripping radiance even when the scene portrayed was a forest or a city square or any outdoor view. The best representation of this that I can recall is found in an illustration to The Knight of the Burning Pestle, from the edition of Beaumont and Fletcher, issued in 1778, when the practice no longer prevailed; but it is evident also in the frontispiece to The Beauties of the English Stage, 1737. Some idea of the effect in other indoor scenes may be gained from the

FRONTISPIECE TO FIELDING'S PASQUIN, 1737



FRONTISPIECE TO BEAUTIES OF THE ENGLISH STAGE, 1737

Courtesy of the Musical Quarterly

frontispiece to Fielding's Pasquin (edition of 1737). Here two hoops are represented, as in the frontispiece to The Beauties of the English Stage, just mentioned. No one would dream of stressing the number in these early prints—it is the custom that counts. In Garrick's time, the number was six. No doubt these lights threw down on the actors a soft, pleasing ray; unfortunately they also dropped down a quantity of hot grease or wax to the hurt of bare shoulders and velvet attire. The actresses were probably glad when they were abolished. In both the prints of 1737, the rings of lights look as if they could be lifted at will into the flies (see page 147).

I cannot say when footlights were introduced; certainly they were in use by 1735. This we learn from the exact and unimpeachable testimony of Aaron Hill's Prompter of November 7th of that year. The article inveighs against ranting actors, who advance to the footlights and bellow out their soliloquies into the auditorium. So far as I know this is the first reference to footlights—lamps, so called—in the London theatre; but they are not spoken of as a novelty.

> Suppose, for Example [cries the Prompter, in plenitude of capitals and italics] . . . we are present, at the Representation of some Scene, wherein an Actor comes forward to the Line of Lamps, on the Edge of the Stage, and, after sending his Eyes, like his *Gentlemen Ushers*, into the Pit, or the Boxes, begins to tell the Spectators, in the Words of the *Soliloquy*,
> "*I am* ALONE!"

A glance at Hogarth's admired picture, Strolling Actresses Dressing in a Barn (1738), reveals a collection of candles, each in a flat, shallow holder, huddled pell-mell on the floor; these, I assume, are destined to be used as footlights in the coming performance. If poor wandering players were carrying about footlights among their scant properties, in 1738, how long must the reader suppose such means of illumination had been employed in London theatres?

One falls back on the print of the Red Bull, so called, in Kirkman's Wits (1672) and wonders if, after all, footlights

had been in use since the early days of the Restoration. As to other means of lighting or darkening the stage in Cibber's time I am ignorant; but I can only refer the reader to the rather advanced system indicated by the Schedule of Scenery and Properties in the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, in January, 1744, liberally discussed on page 404. Perhaps the "14 lamps posts out of use" there spoken of as enjoying well-earned rest had been employed as wing lights in the age we are discussing. I think they must have been.

The frontispiece to Pasquin also illustrates the usual position of the orchestra—a position to which in the Restoration time it had finally been relegated until some future generation puts it elsewhere. In the little Madison Square Theatre of pleasant memories to New Yorkers, the experiment was tried of placing it in a gallery behind curtains over the stage; the success of the experiment may be gauged by the fact that the idea has not been duplicated in subsequent theatres. Of course it would not do for musical shows, in which the conductor must give the signal to the singers.

SPECTATORS IN THE ORCHESTRA AND ON THE STAGE

Into the orchestra pit, in Cibber's age, people of special privilege were admitted as a mark of honour. Voltaire, for instance, on his visit to England in 1727 sat there, for the better hearing the words of the actors, that he might thereby improve himself in the use of the English tongue. Wilks, in 1731, after delivering the prologue to Eurydice, took up his station in the same place, closely watched by Aaron Hill, who on February 23rd writes to Mallet: "I only want to tell you, that I was pleased with Mr. *Wilks*, in the *prologue*, and still more in the musick-room [note the designation], where I observed him, aptly and generously touched with a manly and compassionate *tenderness*." By 1738–42, this concession had come to be looked on as a right, and, like the stage-lizard, the orchestra-mouse had become a public nuisance. He is generally grouped with the infester of the stage in notes at the bottom of play-bills and adver-

tisements. For instance, the play-bill of Comus at Drury Lane for March 6, 1738, ends: "N. B. To prevent any Interruption in the Musick, Dancing, Machinery, or other Parts of the Performance, 'tis hoped no Gentleman will take it ill, that he cannot be admitted behind the Scenes, or into the Orchestra."

Similar notices are frequent at this time. The playbill of As You Like It on page 262, it will be observed, varies the phrasing in a most interesting way: "the Dances depending greatly on the Music, 'tis humbly hop'd no Persons will take it ill, that they can't be admitted into the Music room." Into the Music room! Again! Shades of Pepys and Dorset Garden and modern scholars! Lest this second illustration of the survival of Seventeenth-Century nomenclature should re-open the whole question of the position of the music-room in the theatre of Charles II, I hurry on

> Like one that on a lonesome road
> Doth walk in fear and dread;
> And having once turned round, walks on
> And turns no more his head,
> Because he knows a frightful fiend
> Doth close behind him tread.

From the reference just cited to "standees" on the stage, it will be observed that in 1738 the matter was hardly advanced beyond the status of 1710, where we left it. The advertisements for Drury Lane in the Spectator of 1711–12, sometimes end threateningly: "By her Majesty's Command no Persons are to be admitted behind the Scenes." This seems to hold particularly at the production of new plays or important revivals of old; the revival of The Tempest on January 15, 1712, is so signalised, as is the first production of The Perplex'd Lovers on the 19th of the same month. The notice becomes even more general, and is affixed to older productions, as the Spectator wanes to its close. After the accession of George I in 1714 the tone changes considerably; perhaps one hesitated to flaunt royal authority in the face of Jacobites and Tories. At any

rate, Rich seems to have taken the more determined stand. It has generally been said that he began the practice of barring people from the stage, because of the machines used in his pantomimes; this can hardly be true, considering the advertisements of The Prophetess, newly revived at his theatre in 1715. After a few days, the notices in the Daily Courant end with a "request" to "gentlemen" to leave the actors in peace, the reason being, it is true, the mechanical one usually assigned by later writers for his banishing the idle knights from Harlequin's stage. "And whereas there are a great many Scenes and Machines to be mov'd in this Opera, which cannot be done if Persons should stand on the Stage (where they could not be without Danger) it is therefore hoped no person will take it ill that they must be deny'd Entrance on the Stage." That this plaintive request rang throughout the age of Cibber—but only on special occasions—the advertisement of Comus just quoted will show. James Ralph—in The Taste of the Town, 1731—confesses himself unable to account for the presence of gentlemen on the stage; "unless they think that their Complexions or Cloaths may appear to the best Advantage by the Glare of a Stage Light." If the question be raised as to why the actors endured the custom, the answer is very simple—they feared a riot and destruction of their property, if they ran counter to the will of the "gentlemen" of the pit. They were rogues, vagabonds and puppies when they ventured to disobey their arrogant masters.

But, as was said in the discussion of the preceding age, on benefit nights the players were only too pleased to invite the public, at advanced rates, to come and sit upon the stage. By the end of the Cibber period, the practice was well established of building an amphitheatre on the stage, and supplementing it by side-boxes. On the 6th day of the production of Comus just mentioned, it was announced "for the Benefit of the Reviver. Servants will be admitted to keep Places on the Stage, Part of which will be form'd

into Side-Boxes." Poor servants! what a wait was theirs and for what a barmecide feast! "To prevent Disappointments, the Ladies are desired to send their Servants by Three o' Clock. To begin exactly at Six o' Clock." About a month later, to wit on the 12th of April, 1738, "by Command of his Royal Highness the Duke, for the Benefit of Mrs. Cibber," Measure for Measure was given at the same theatre. The audience was apprised of the dangers of delay and the necessity for energetic action:

Part of the Seats on the Stage will be form'd into Side-Boxes, and inclos'd and ornamented in a handsome manner.

To prevent Mistakes, the Ladies are desired to send their Servants by Three o'Clock to the Stage-Door, that they may be properly placed before the Doors of the Theatre are open, which will be exactly at Four o'clock.

Boxes 5s. Pit 3s. First Gallery 2s. Upper Gallery 1s.
To begin exactly at Six o'Clock.

The best illustration of the habit of forming the seats on the stage into side-boxes is found in Hogarth's well-known picture of a scene from The Beggar's Opera; here, close to the actors, are placed the spectators, almost a part of the scene itself. The key to the drawing shows us among these beholders the Duke of Bolton, soon to become the husband of Lavinia Fenton, the captivating Polly Peachum of the original cast of Gay's work.

GRENADIERS ON THE STAGE

But the audience was not the only alien enemy on the stage of Cibber's time: grenadiers or guards stood, one at each proscenium door, a constant warning against riot in the pit and an equally constant despoiler of illusion on the scene. The origin of the practice is usually said to have been a serious riot in the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields during the year 1721. According to the oft-repeated account of Victor, a certain earl, "who was said to have been

in a state of drunkenness for about six years, being behind the scenes . . . saw one of his companions on the other side, and crossed over the stage among the performers." He was hissed by the audience and reproached by Rich. Blows were exchanged, the actors helped the manager, certain "gentlemen" tore up the fixtures of the house, etc. In the end, the king ordered a guard to attend both theatres; with the result that guards stood at the proscenium doors throughout the rest of the reign of Cibber, and through all of the reign of Garrick.

This version is almost universally accepted; but that the practice began earlier is proved by Steele in the second issue of Town Talk (December 23, 1715, the very year of the first Pretender). His remarks imply that the custom was new; its origin may have been fear of Jacobitism. "It is to me," writes Steele, "a cause both of indignation and laughter, to see the wit of the British Theatre protected by a grenadier at each entrance of the stage; but difficulty in the prospect must not deter well-meaning endeavours from making the attempt." From Steele's language we infer a novelty of usage, and are therefore safe in fixing on about the beginning of the reign of George I for the inauguration of the practice. Even so, it may have been but intermittently carried out until the year 1721, so universally stated to be the origin of the grenadier at the door.

I was surprised to find that the house paid for this soldier-guard. Charlotte Charke, *née* Cibber—Colley's daughter, Theophilus's sister, and, if possible, more grotesquely eccentric than either—wrote, at the time of the revolt of the actors in 1735, an amusing burlesque, The Art of Management, or, Tragedy Expell'd. The scene, as usual in such pieces, is the stage of the theatre, and, in a colloquy between the bully of a manager and his frightened box-keeper, we learn the fact just mentioned. The box-keeper is discharged because, as the manager says, "we must have Fellows of Spirit about us. . . . . Damme, if an Audience makes a disturbance, then we shall know how to deal with

SCENE FROM THE BEGGAR'S OPERA
By Hogarth, 1728

STROLLING ACTRESSES DRESSING IN A BARN
By Hogarth, 1738

them." The poor victim suggests that he thought the Guards were provided to quell disorder, but Bloodbolt cries out, "Guards! Zounds, we'll save that Expence, what need we have Guards when we have Men about us that can act in a double Capacity; no, no, we'll have no Guards, 'twill be a good deal sav'd in a Season." Hence, it would seem, guards were not a necessity in law.

ENTR'ACTE VARIETY

Finally, was carried throughout the entire period the bad habit of offering dances and songs and solos on musical instruments as entertainment between the acts of plays however tragic or grim. As usual, this custom varied according to whether there was one theatre, or more, involved; the Spectator advertisements, for instance, show Drury Lane, single in the field, free of such beguilements. But when John Rich was freed from red tapery, his rivalry made competition more keen. This is shown in the middle and late years of the decade 1710–20; it reappears in the two following decades, especially when pantomime was sleeping, preparatory to a new onslaught on popular taste. In those invaluable clippings, advertising plays at both theatres, in the Genest collection at Harvard, entertainments of singing and dancing bristle throughout the five years involved. For instance, on January 29, 1738, Julius Cæsar was revived at the particular Desire of Several Ladies of Quality, and "with Scenes and Decorations, proper to the Play." But note what follows: "With select Pieces of Musick. And Entertainments of Dancing particularly A new Ballet by Mons. Muilmant and Mrs. Walter; Mons. Livier and Mrs. Thompson, Mr. Pelling, Mr. Rector, Mrs. Woodward, and Miss Brett." Hamlet, on January 23, at the desire of the same ladies, was even more degraded and very specifically, too: "At End of Act I. Flanderkins by Master Ferg and Miss Wright. Act III The Russian Sailor, by Mons. Danoyer," and, at the end of the play, the same

"grand Ballet" described in the bill for Julius Cæsar. Both bills conclude with the nondescript King and the Miller of Mansfield. That the practice continued till 1741, the reader may assure himself by consulting the bill for As You Like It, opposite page 262.

CHAPTER X

SCENERY: SPECIAL PRODUCTIONS

STOCK SCENERY AND PROPERTIES ORDINARILY USED

This chapter may begin with the account of an auction, real or imaginary, but certainly humorous. The auction is advertised in Number 42 of the Tatler, under date of July 16, 1709, and concerned itself with that series of events by which the precincts of Drury Lane were turned into an armed camp, what time Collier, by legal process, drove Christopher Rich, long in possession thereof, out of the management of Drury Lane Theatre. Addison, in this issue of the Tatler, humorously conceives of the stage effects and properties of the playhouse as about to be offered at public sale:

> This is to give Notice, that a magnificent Palace, with great Variety of Gardens, Statues, and Water-works, may be bought cheap in *Drury-Lane;* where there are likewise several Castles to be disposed of, very delightfully situated; as also Groves, Woods, Forrests, Fountains, and Country Seats, with very pleasant Prospects on all Sides of them; being the Moveables of *Ch——r R—ch*, Esq., who is breaking up Housekeeping, and has many curious Pieces of Furniture to dispose of which may be seen between the Hours of Six and Ten in the Evening.

This list supplies a collection of stock-scenery almost as good as an actual viewing of the settings in Drury Lane Theatre at the time. Any one who remembers the "combination" houses of thirty years ago, in town or country, can fill his mind's eye with every one of the scenes enumerated. But now for the invaluable

Inventory

> Spirits of Right Nantz Brandy, for Lambent Flames and Apparitions.
>
> Three Bottles and a Half of Lightning.
>
> One Shower of Snow in the whitest *French* Paper.

Two Showers of a browner Sort.

A Sea, consisting of a Dozen large Waves; the Tenth bigger than ordinary, and a little damaged.

A dozen and a half of Clouds, trimmed with black, and well-conditioned.

A Rainbow, a little faded.

A set of Clouds after the *French* Mode, streaked with Lightning, and furbelowed.

A new Moon something decay'd.

A Pint of the finest *Spanish* Wash, being all that is left out of Two Hogsheads sent over last Winter.

A Coach very finely gilt, and little used, with a Pair of Dragons, to be sold cheap.

A Setting Sun, a Pennyworth.

An Imperial Mantle made for *Cyrus the Great*, and worn by *Julius Cæsar*, *Bajazet*, *King Henry* the Eighth, and Signor *Valentini*.

A Basket-Hilt Sword, very convenient to carry Milk in.

Roxana's Night-Gown.

Othello's Handkerchief.

The Imperial Robes of *Xerxes*, never worn but once.

A Wild-Boar kill'd by Mrs. *Tofts* and *Dioclesian*.

A Serpent to sting *Cleopatra*.

A Mustard-Bowl to make Thunder with.

Another of a bigger Sort, by Mr. *D—is*'s [John Dennis's] Directions, little used.

Six Elbow-Chairs, very expert in Country-Dances, with Six Flower-Pots for their Partners.

The Whiskers of a *Turkish* Bassa.

The Complexion of a Murderer in a Band-box; consisting of a large Piece of burnt Cork, and a Coal-black Peruke [Charles II, a swarthy man, complained that stage-villains were always made up black].

A Suit of Clothes for a Ghost, *viz.* a bloody Shirt, a Doublet curiously pink'd, and a Coat with Three great Eyelet-Holes upon the Breast.

A Bale of Red *Spanish* Wool.

Modern Plots, commonly known by the Name of Trap-Doors, Ladders of Ropes, Visard-Masques, and Tables with broad Carpets over them.

Three Oak-Cudgels, with one of Crab-Tree; all bought for the Use of Mr. *Penkethman*.

Materials for Dancing; as Masques, Castanets, and a Ladder of Ten Rounds.

Aurengzebe's Scymeter, made by Will. Brown in Piccadilly.

A Plume of Feathers, never used but by *Œdipus* and the Earl of *Essex*.

There are also Swords, Halberts, Sheep-Hooks, Cardinals Hats, Turbants, Drums, Gally Pots, a Gibbet, a Cradle, a Rack, a Cart-wheel, an Altar, a Helmet, a Back-Piece, a Brest-Plate, a Bell, a Tub, and a Jointed-Baby.

This delightful pell-mell, huddled, helter-skelter inventory does, no doubt, give a fairly adequate idea of the scenes and properties at Drury Lane in the year of grace 1709, and for nearly a century thereafter; and how much more of properties than of scenery! As a matter of fact, Addison's list was reprinted at the end of the Life of that Eminent Comedian Robert Wilks, Esq., published by Curll in 1733, with an N. B. to the effect that "the first Edition of this Inventory, was taken by Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq., and by his direction printed and publickly dispersed in the Coffee-Houses of London and Westminster, on Saturday, July 16, 1709, in which space of three and twenty years, the Goods have been much used, and consequently the worse for wearing, as the Saying is; having been purchased by Three several Owners, who indeed have added seven Lots to them, which are thus marked †."

But the whole Collection is now to be disposed of, as useful Furniture upon Occasion, for Goodman's-Fields, Bow-Street, or the Hay-market Theatre. For as to the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane,
Seges ubi Troja fuit.

The seven lots added in 1733 to Addison's list were "Mrs. Oldfield's Slippers, Mr. Wilks's Gloves, Mrs. Porter's Petticoat, left her by Queen Elizabeth, Jo Miller's best Breeches, lined with Parchment, Mr. Booth's full-bottom Wig, in which Cato died, Mrs. Thurmond's Clogs, lined with Beggar's-Velvet, Mr. Thurmond's Hat, with a strong Lining."

Underneath all this jesting lies proof positive that from 1709 to 1733—the best years of the age of Cibber—an unvarying custom of stage setting persisted; it was wholly a matter of stock scenery, stock properties, stock costumes. There can be no question of this, I am sure. Ralph, in The Taste of the Town, 1731, referring to the early years, when there was only one company (i. e., before 1714), assures us

that "they grudg'd the smallest expence . . . A new Scene or Suit of Cloaths, a new Dance, or Piece of Musick were as rare as a Comet. . . . Since the Establishment of the two Theatres, our Usage has been kinder." The testimony of Tate Wilkinson, Victor, Oulton, Chetwood, etc., conveys the same impression for the later years of the Eighteenth Century. All we can do is to seek for occasional differences and novelties in this unbroken rule of stock material.

For our discussion, unusual interest attaches to the inclusion among the few plays mentioned of Julius Cæsar and Henry VIII; of course, the serpent dire was "to sting" Dryden's Cleopatra, not Shakespeare's. I may say, in conclusion, that the 99th Tatler, of November 26, 1709, gives the final scenes of Rich's ejectment from the affairs of Drury Lane. Rich was accused of having marched off with all the movables. "The neighbouring Inhabitants report, That the Refuse of *Divito's* Followers marched off the Night before, disguised in Magnificence; Door-Keepers came out clad like Cardinals, and Scene-Drawers like Heathen Gods. *Divito* himself was wrapped up in one of his black Clouds, and left to the Enemy nothing but an empty Stage, full of Trap-Doors, known only to himself and his Adherents."

However much these scenes and properties and costumes indicate a "stock" use, Steele gives us some hint as to their quality in the 182nd Tatler, June 8, 1710. The town grows empty. "My *Beaus* are now Shepherds, and my *Belles* Wood-Nymphs. . . . Even the Actors are going to desert us for a Season, and we shall not shortly have so much as a Landskip or a Frost-Scene to refresh our selves with in the Midst of our Fatigues. . . . If we find . . . the Beauties of proper Action, the Force of Eloquence, and the Gaiety of well-placed Lights and Scenes, it is being happy, and seeing others happy for Two Hours. . . . . The Players are my Pictures, and their Scenes my Territories."

The satisfaction with which Steele refers here to the scenery employed in the theatre leads me to believe that these stock-landscapes were well-painted and pleasing to the

eye; else how could a person of his taste find them "refreshing" to behold in summer, or speak of them as "gay"?

THE BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER PLATES, 1711

Whatever the character of the painting, however, there is no doubt that it continued at the beginning of the age of Cibber to be exactly like that of the age of Betterton—the flats and side-wings were still pictures, not scenery, in our sense of the word. Steele's use of the words "landscape" and "scenes" would attest this. In verification of my theory, and in lack of more specific testimony, I call in the prints from contemporary editions of the great dramatists. The Rowe Shakespeare of 1709 has been already cited in another connection. I now reproduce three striking illustrations from the 1711 edition of Beaumont and Fletcher. If these do not represent the stage of the time, then that stage was very different from anything I have reason to believe it was. The scene from The Island Princess is so palpably a back "shutter" of a castle afire, that it would be ridiculous on any other assumption. The plate representing the dance from Wit at Several Weapons is a veritable joy; the antiquarian spirit revels in it. Note the stage border at the top. I also get the impression of scenery, not reality, from the frontispiece to The Humorous Lieutenant; recently, I have come to wonder whether the curious box-like houses at the sides may not be the illustrator's attempt to translate, in terms of art, the uncompromising proscenium doors and balconies used in stage performance of the play. It must be conceded, however, that the question of lateral sets is raised both by this scene and that from Wit at Several Weapons (see page 113). I chose both for illustration precisely because they are so perplexing.

In 1713 was published The Stage: a Poem. Inscrib'd to Joseph Addison, Esq.; by Mr. Webster, of Christ-Church, Oxon. This long-forgotten effusion urges Addison to bring on the stage his Cato, at that time unacted; but it is now

valuable as showing exactly the scenic conditions just quoted from Addison. Exclaims the scholastic bard:

> High o'er the Stage there lies a rambling Frame,
> Which Men a Garret vile, but Play'rs the Tire-room name;
> Here all their Stores (a merry Medley) sleep,
> Without Distinction huddled in a Heap.

Here are Tarquin's Trowsers, Lucretia's Vest, Roxana's Stays, Statira's Petticoat, "a Quart of bottled Light'ning," a thunder-bowl, and

> Near these sets up a Dragon-drawn Calash,
> There a Ghost's Doublet delicately slash'd.
> . . . . . .
> Here Iris bends her various painted Arch,
> There artificial Clouds in sullen Order march,
> Here stands a Crown upon a Rack, and there
> A Witch's Broomstick by great Hector's Spear;
> There stands a Throne, and there the Cynick's Tub,
> Here Bullock's Cudgel, there Alcide's Club.
> Beads, Plumes, and Spangles, in Confusion rise,
> Whilst Rocks of Cornish Diamonds reach the Skies.
> Crests, Corslets, all the Pomp of Battle join,
> In one Effulgence, one promiscuous shine.

In truth, this tire-room jumble might have been poetised from Addison's list; but note what follows. Hence. proceeds Mr. Webster, from this wretched pell-mell,

> Hence all the Drama's Decorations rise,
> Hence Gods descend Majestick from the Skies,
> Hence Playhouse Chiefs to grace some antique Tale,
> Buckle their coward Limbs, in warlike Mail.

If only hence *all* the Drama's decorations arose, the reader sees how little that *all* was at best.

In other respects, the literature of the time is singularly disappointing as to staging. Whereas many of the Restoration plays of an operatic tendency were printed, as we have seen, with astonishingly elaborate scenic directions,

FRONTISPIECES TO PLAYS OF BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER, 1711

the great majority of Shakespearian adaptations and other dramatic works were issued in Cibber's day with almost no such directions at all. The explanation is easy; the Opera in the Haymarket was supplying all demands for operatic-spectacular affairs like the earlier Prophetess or The Fairy Queen, or The World in the Moon.

HINTS FROM THE SPECTATOR

But if we have so scant a record of scenery and stage picture, the 44th Spectator, April 20, 1711, is very illuminating as to devices for awakening pity and fear in the presentation of tragedy. "Among the several Artifices," it says, "which are put in Practice by the Poets to fill the Minds of an Audience with Terror, the first Place is due to Thunder and Lightning, which are often made use of at the Descending of a God, or the Rising of a Ghost, at the Vanishing of a Devil, or at the Death of a Tyrant. I have known a Bell introduced into several Tragedies with good Effect; and have seen the whole Assembly in a very great Alarm all the while it has been ringing. But there is nothing which delights and terrifies our *English* Theatre so much as a Ghost, especially when he appears in a bloody Shirt. A Spectre has very often saved a Play, though he has done nothing but stalked across the Stage, or rose through a Cleft of it, and sunk again without speaking one Word.

. . . . . .

"It would be an endless Task to consider Comedy in the same Light, and to mention the innumerable Shifts that small Wits put in practice to raise a Laugh. *Bullock* in a short Coat, and *Norris* in a long one, seldom fail of this Effect. In ordinary Comedies, a broad and a narrow-brim'd Hat are different Characters. Sometimes the Wit of the Scene lies in a Shoulder-Belt, and sometimes in a Pair of Whiskers."

These extracts give a clear impression of stage management just as Cibber and Wilks were starting on their career as managers of Drury Lane. In No. 592, of the Spectator,

Addison has one last word, under date of September 10, 1714 (of the new series, observe, starting on June 18th, of this year). "I look upon the Playhouse," he says, "as a World within itself. . . . . I was there last Winter at the first Rehearsal of the new Thunder [evidently not Dennis's, the stealing of which gave a new saying to the language], which is much more deep and sonorous than any hitherto made use of. They have a *Salmoneus* behind the Scenes who plays it off with great Success. Their Lightnings are made to flash more briskly than heretofore; their Clouds are also better furbelow'd, and more voluminous; not to mention a violent Storm locked up in a great Chest, that is designed for the *Tempest*. They are also provided with above a Dozen Showers of Snow."

Blessed be the Tatler and the Spectator for this invaluable theatrical information! One will look in vain for it in other papers of the time, or of the years preceding or following, whether Gazettes or Mercators, or Post-Boys or Flying Posts or Whitehall Evening Posts. One enters on a perusal of copies of these last-mentioned papers, always with hope, but ends with profound disappointment. There is absolutely no word as to setting or other mechanical details. For the newspapers, except the Daily Courant, theatres were apparently non-existent; only literary triflers like Steele and Addison could give us what we so pitifully seek in the periodicals of that day. Without them, my account of the staging of plays in Queen Anne's day would be meagre indeed.

THE END OF THE CIBBER PERIOD

That some at least of the stage effects at the end of our period proved marvellous to contemporaries is attested by an amusing account of the prompter's magical power, described in Aaron Hill's periodical, the Prompter, under date of November 12, 1734: "Among his *Instrumenta Regni*," boasts the article, "his Implements of Government, I have taken particular notice of a little Bell, which hangs over his

Arm: By the Tinkling of this Bell, if a Lady in Tragedy be in the Spleen for the Absence of her Lover, or the Hero in the Dumps for the Loss of a Battle, he can conjure up Soft Musick to soothe their Distress; nay, if a Wedding happens in a Comedy, he can summon up the Fidlers to dispel *Care* by a Country Dance . . .

"Another Tool of his Authority, is a Whistle, which hangs about his Neck: A Boatswain's Whistle may be sometimes more terrible; but I am sure, it cannot be more punctually obeyed. Dr. Faustus's celebrated Wand has not a more arbitrary or extensive Power, than this musical Machine: At the least Blast of it, I have seen Houses move, as it were upon Wings, Cities turned into Forests, and dreary Desarts converted into superb Palaces: I have seen an Audience removed in a Moment, from *Britain* to *Japan*, and the frozen Mountains of *Zembla* resembling the sunny Vales of *Arabia Fœlix ;* I have seen Heaven and Earth pass away, and Chaos ensue; and from thence a new Creation arise, fair and blooming, as the Poet's Fancy; and all by the Powerful magic Influence of this Wonder working Whistle."

So these were his wonder-working instruments, and these the wonders they produced; it has a very modern sound, if as signals we substitute electric buttons for bells and whistles. Yet complete candour compels me to temper the enthusiasm of this ingenuous writer with a cold *douche*. In a farce, The Stage Mutineers, produced at Covent Garden in 1733—just the year before the Prompter wrote—we have a humorous bit about ill-matched scenery that anticipates Tate Wilkinson and Boaden, concerning performances in the Garrick era. At the height of their difficulties with the players, the managers begin to cast accounts:

1 *Man.* Here, Wardrobe-Keeper, bring the Book of Accounts with you—Now, Brother, you shall see how large our Expences are.

2 *Man.* Read the Articles.

W. Keeper—Imprimis—A Cloud and a half, with the three odd Waves.

1 *Man.* What Necessity could there be for them?

W. Keeper. O dear, Sir, Clouds are the most useful Things ye can have; for they must always appear to an Audience, tho' the Scene lay in a Bed-chamber; and with the Addition of the three odd Waves, we had not Waves enough to make a Sea.

1 *Man.* You see the Expences, Brother; you see the Expences.

Further testimony is supplied by a pamphlet, Theatrical Disquisitions, or, a Review of the late Riot at Drury-Lane Theatre, on the 25th and 26th of January, 1763. The rioters maintained that Wilks, Booth and Cibber provided entertainment as good as that of Garrick's day at far less cost; but, says the writer of the tract in question, in the earlier time "few scenes were required; a street, a chamber, a garden, and a palace, were almost all they were possessed of, and these how poorly executed, compared with the excellent paintings now produced, where *one single* flat or front, shall be fairly worth their whole stock. Machinery they neither had nor needed; what was the number of hands in their orchestra *then ?*—What is it *now ?* How were their characters dressed then? . . . . . What was the stage-furniture at that time, and indeed long since?—Two or three old chairs of different sorts, a piece of ragged baize thrown over a table, and a couple of brass candle-sticks, were the elegant movables of *Indiana*'s apartment . . . . I have seen *Desdemona* sleeping on a cane-couch behind a wooden frame, most curiously painted to *represent* silk curtains and a fringe." In view of this poverty, compared with the splendours of 1763, the writer laments that the expense of a performance was only fifty pounds during the management of the triumvirate, where now it amounts to upwards of a hundred guineas at each house.

The discrepancy between the records just cited is explained by the fact that the Prompter was obviously writing of pantomime, that darling, carefully nurtured, of the managers; whereas the farce-writer and the pamphleteer had in mind the ordinary run of stock-performances. The latter are powerful allies in the case I am trying to make out regarding the slovenliness of mounting in the "legitimate" repertoire.

SCENERY AT THE OPERA IN THE HAYMARKET

By the time the Spectator began to appear, in 1710–11, the large and gorgeous theatre built in the Haymarket for Betterton's company had completely failed as a playhouse, and had at last differentiated itself exclusively as an opera-house, in which opera in English or opera in Italian, or both combined in one performance, was presented with much magnificence. Addison was, like most English play-goers, bitterly opposed to this state of affairs. Some of his best-known papers are attacks on this luxury. Of course, we must remember that he was human, and that his own opera, Rosamond, had signally and dismally failed!

He treats of the then comparatively new exotic from many points of view; but we must confine ourselves here to his exposure of the purely spectacular elements involved. It will show a supreme contrast to the rather cramped and niggardly condition in Drury Lane Theatre. The Spectator (No. 5) of March 6, 1710–11, is the best-known. "An Opera," it begins, "may be allowed to be extravagantly lavish in its Decorations . . . Common Sense however requires, that there should be nothing in the Scenes and Machines, which may appear Childish and Absurd. How would the Wits of King *Charles*'s time have laughed, to have seen *Nicolini* exposed to a Tempest in Robes of Ermin, and sailing in an open Boat upon a Sea of Paste-Board? What a Field of Raillery would they have been let into, had they been entertain'd with painted Dragons spitting Wild-fire, enchanted Chariots drawn by Flanders Mares, and real Cascades in artificial Land-skips!" We know that the wits of Charles II's time revelled in these things, as did the wits of James II's and William III's.

The essay proceeds with the account of the man met in the Strand, who had been buying sparrows for the opera, "to enter towards the End of the first Act, and to fly about the Stage." Nay, Addison hears that the back wall of the theatre will open, and "surprize the Audience with a Party of an hundred Horse, and that there was actually a Project

of bringing the New-River into the House, to be employed in Jetteaus and Water-works." He learns, finally, that there is a treaty on foot "to furnish the Opera of *Rinaldo* and *Armida* with an Orange-Grove; and that the next time it is Acted, the Singing-Birds will be Personated by Tom-Tits; the Undertakers being resolved to spare neither Pains nor Mony for the Gratification of the Audience."

Of course some of this is mere jest on Addison's part, but there is in it more than a modicum of the believable as to the extravagant and realistic setting of opera at the Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket. The work here specially satirised is Rinaldo, planned by Aaron Hill, written in Italian by Rossi, and set to music by Handel. As printed, it contains, like all opera texts, the Italian and the English words, the English translation made by Aaron Hill, himself. Some of the effects required are very startling. Argantes enters in a "Triumphal Charriot, the Horses white, and led in by armed Blackamoors"; later, we see Armida in the air, "in a Chariot drawn by two huge Dragons, out of whose Mouths issue Fire and Smoke," quite in the manner of Siegfried's Fafner in our own beloved opera. Verily it is difficult to reform this type of entertainment!

Addison's derided scene occurs early: "A delightful Grove in which the Birds are heard to sing, and seen flying up and down among the Trees." A black cloud descends on this peaceful glade, "fill'd with dreadful Monsters spitting Fire and Smoke"; but, for contrast, the second act opens with a "Calm and Sun-shiny Sea," a boat at anchor, and at the helm "a Spirit in the Shape of a lovely Woman." Two mermaids dance up and down on the water, and after much to-do, the boat steers into the open sea, and disappears from sight. The reader must himself turn to a description of the built-up wonders of Act III, with mountains to be climbed, with ugly spirits, enchanted arches, etc. From masque to opera was a progress that had to be taken before the regular stage could be wholly free of the danger from being swallowed up in scenery. If only we had anything like such detailed accuracy in describing the scenes of a

regular production of the time, Shakespearian or other! But poor Shakespeare stood between the devil and the deep sea: if he wanted scenery, he must submit to being turned into an opera—witness The Fairy Queen and The Tempest; if he wanted to be acted as a play, he had to put up with whatever odds and ends of scenery the store-room provided. Verily the choice was hard.

We must not, however, take too unreservedly the splendours promised by the printed copies of spectacular productions of these early years. My wonder and enthusiasm, already sicklied o'er with the pale cast of questioning, were sadly reduced by the 14th Spectator (March 16, 1711), in which Steele shows how far even the much-vaunted Rinaldo and Armida fell below the requirements of the printed book:

> The King of *Jerusalem* is obliged to come from the City on foot, instead of being drawn in a triumphant Chariot by white Horses, as my Opera-Book had promised me; and thus while I expected *Armida's* Dragons should rush towards *Argantes*, I found the Hero was obliged to go to *Armida*, and hand her out of her Coach. We had also but a very short Allowance of Thunder and Lightning; tho' I cannot in this Place omit doing Justice to the Boy who had the Direction of the two painted Dragons, and made them spit Fire and Smoke: He flash'd out his Rosin in such just Proportions and in such due Time. . . . I saw indeed but Two things wanting to render his whole Action compleat, I mean the keeping his Head a little lower, and hiding his Candle.

And apparently the same slovenly methods of stage-management persisted; scenes were changed only in part, and absurd incongruities resulted:

> As to the Mechanism and Scenary . . . . at the Hay-Market the Undertakers forgetting to change their Side-Scenes, we were presented with a Prospect of the Ocean in the midst of a delightful Grove; and tho' the Gentlemen on the Stage contributed to the Beauty of the Grove by walking up and down between the Trees, I must own I was not a little astonished to see a well-dressed young Fellow, in a full-bottomed Wigg, appear in the midst of the Sea, and without any visible Concern taking Snuff.

And even the birds!

The Sparrows and Chaffinches . . . fly as yet very irregularly over the Stage; and instead of perching on the Trees . . . these young Actors either get into the Galleries or put out the Candles [over the stage? in the scene of the grove?]

This revelation forces us to pick our way warily through the ancient texts. It is very disillusionising. Did such things happen even in the days of the glories of Dorset Garden, what times The Tempest, The Prophetess and The Fairy Queen were enchanting the town?

I am surprised to learn, let me say in conclusion, that "frontispieces" were still used for opera as late as 1735. The list of scenes and properties scheduled at Covent Garden in 1744 and spoken of at length on page 391 refers in several places to scattered portions of what must have been an elaborate set of a palace for Handel's opera, Ariodante, produced at Rich's theatre in 1735. Among other items written down is "a border to frontispiece in Ariodante."

SPECIAL PRODUCTIONS IN THE REGULAR THEATRES IN THE EARLY YEARS OF CIBBER

The inference as to neglect of specialised scenery for individual performances at the theatres is drawn, paradoxically, as so often in similar cases, from the very mention of such scenery for special productions. If we look through the files of the Spectator for the years 1711–12, we find advertisements of plays and entertainments, but only on extraordinary occasions is there reference to setting, and this, usually, in plays, as the Daily Courant informed us, so adorned in the last years of Betterton. King Lear, Hamlet, Julius Cæsar, Henry IV, are announced merely with splendid casts, and that fact was depended upon to draw audiences; but anything operatic or mechanical was always specified. On the 20th of October, 1711, for instance, the "Tragedy of Mackbeth" was announced, "with

all the Principal Parts new dressed." I cannot help wondering if these new dresses were not those used a few years before at the revival at the Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket; certainly the unvarying announcement of "proper decoration" for Macbeth was an inheritance from preceding years and was handed on from decade to decade throughout the Eighteenth Century. The Tempest was the only other Shakespearian play customarily so advertised. On the 15th of January, 1712, it was offered, "as it was altered from Shakespear by Sir Will. D'avenant and the late Mr. Dryden, Poets Laureat. With new Scenes, Machines, and all the Original Decorations proper to the Play,"—whatever they were. Shadwell's Lancashire Witches was one of the few extra-Shakesperian plays, similarly honoured in 1711–12; obviously the mere thought of witches was enough to set the stage-machinist off in the direction of proper devices for their "flyings." During this time only one theatre was giving dramatic entertainment; the Queen's Theatre was finally started on its career as an opera-house.

By 1715 George I was more or less comfortably seated on the throne, and Steele was nominally at the head of affairs in Drury Lane Theatre; John Rich also was in undisturbed possession of the new theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields. It is "pretty"—to use Pepys's expression—to read the tale of managerial rivalry as set down in the advertisements of the two houses in the Daily Courant. Evidently most productions go on the even tenor of their "stock" way, but great stress was laid on a few spectacles depended on to draw the idle and the curious. Pantomime had not yet raised its hydra-head, and the managers, in distress, turned to the classics for assistance. Beaumont and Fletcher's Island Princess and their Prophetess, seldom long absent from the bills, were revived, apparently with much display. On January 10, 1715, The Island Princess was brought out at Drury Lane "with proper Entertainments and Decorations," but on the 28th, Rich, judging from his advertisement, must have eclipsed the other house with the same play, "with all new Cloaths, Scenes, and Decorations

proper to the Play. To which will be added the Frost Musick out of King Arthur, composed by the late Mr. Henry Purcel, and perform'd by Mr. Leveridge, Mr. Pack," and several others mentioned in the bill.

On February 2nd, Drury Lane retorted with "The Tempest, With Scenes, Machines, Dances, and all the Original Decorations proper to the Play." It had just a short time before been revived, I suppose at advanced rates, since it is now advertised "at common prices." This I take to be that revival of The Tempest spoken of by Cibber, incidentally to his exposition of the difficulty of coping with Wilks's vain and splenetic disposition:

> *Dogget* (for this was before *Booth* came into the Menagement), consented that the extraordinary Decorations and Habits should be left to my Care and Direction, as the fittest Person, whose Temper could jossle through the petulant Opposition . . . . . *Wilks* would be always offering to it, because he had but a middling Part in it, that of *Ferdinand*. Notwithstanding which, so it happen'd, that the Success of it shew'd (not to take from the Merit of *Wilks*) that it was possible to have good Audiences without his extraordinary Assistance. In the first six Days of acting it, we paid all our constant and incidental Expence, and shar'd each of us a hundred Pounds: The greatest Profit that in so little a time had yet been known within my Memory!

Whether or not this is the revival thus immortalised by Cibber, The Tempest was acted rather frequently at Drury Lane during the winter and autumn of 1715. During the same time The Island Princess recurs constantly in the bills of the rival house. By November-December, 1715, another pair of contestants were rushed upon the scene. At the old theatre, Cibber and his fellow-managers advertised with rather unusual specificness the "Lancashire Witches. With all the Original Decorations of Scenes, Dances, Risings, Sinkings, and Flyings of the Witches. All the Musick both Vocal and Instrumental set by Mr. Barret. With Dancing by Mr. Prince, Mr. Wade, ... and others." On December 3rd, however, Rich was ready to marshal against this splendour, "The Prophetess, not acted these sixteen years. With all the Original Musick,

the Cloaths, Scenes, Machines, Dances, and all other Decorations proper to the opera, being entirely New." To verify this claim to newness, the manager had the temerity to raise his prices for boxes, pit, and first and upper gallery to, respectively, 6s., 4s., 2s. 6d., and 1s. 6d. These prices were very high for the theatre.

After this, hostilities (I suspect from lack of ammunition) ceased for a while. The theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields had undoubtedly won the day; its Prophetess and its Island Princess are announced for many performances in 1716; besides, beginning on February 7, 1716, Rich had the splendours of Aaron Hill's Fatal Vision—hereafter to be discussed—but announced with "all the Cloaths, Scenes, and Decorations proper to the Play being entirely new." Dejectedly, all that Drury Lane could do was to fall back on the stock repertoire, with no promise at all as to scenes and "cloaths."

TESTIMONY OF CIBBER

As to the activities of these years, Cibber gives us only a few casual hints. Of the production of Addison's Cato in 1713, he says succinctly: "As the Author had made us a Present of whatever Profits he might have claim'd from it, we thought ourselves oblig'd to spare no Cost in the proper Decorations of it."

And that is all! One cannot help speculating as to what Cibber meant by "proper decorations"; I suspect the expression implies considerably less of scenery and much more of costumes, as succeeding quotations from the entertaining apologist will prove. Perhaps Booth's full-bottom wig was included in the overhead charges!

The elusive word "decoration" flits through the next passage, referring to a time just after the granting to Cibber and his companions, with Steele, of a patent, during the first years of George I: "The Grant of this Patent having assured us of a competent Term to be relied on, we were now emboldened to lay out larger Sums in the Decorations of our Plays: Upon the Revival of *Dryden's All for Love*

[in 1718], the Habits of that Tragedy amounted to an Expence of near six hundred Pounds; a Sum unheard of, for many Years before, on the like Occasions. But we thought such extraordinary Marks of our own Acknowledgment were due to the Favours which the Publick were now again pouring in upon us." It is, it will be observed, only the dresses that Cibber speaks of; not a word as to scenery!

A new form of rivalry was soon revived, in the announcement of dancing and singing between the acts, Leveridge being a tower of strength at Lincoln's Inn Fields; besides, farces came in with renewed vigour at both houses, Leveridge's extraordinarily successful Pyramus and Thisbe at the new theatre, and variants of The Cobler of Preston at both. Macbeth, too, is announced at Lincoln's Inn Fields, with "musick" composed and performed by the same ubiquitous Leveridge.

This kind of thing was brought to an end in the early part of the decade 1720–30, by the establishment and regularising of pantomime, as "entertainment" offered at the end of the play of the evening. Rich had been feeling his way tentatively toward the form he was afterwards to perfect, and in 1724 Drury Lane followed definitely with Harlequin Dr. Faustus, the inception and career of which Theophilus Cibber narrates in his Life of Barton Booth. A reading of the advertisements of both houses in the Daily Post for 1724 shows a perfect welter of pantomimes at Rich's theatre, emerging and disappearing at short intervals with kaleidoscopic confusion; while at Drury Lane Harlequin Dr. Faustus goes on, night after night, to the despair of the enemy.

THE LATER YEARS OF CIBBER

From the time of the successful incumbency—not to say incubency—of pantomime, there was almost no effort made by Cibber and his partners in the staging of more "legitimate" dramatic entertainment. That, I suspect, is the reason why his Apology is so barren in these details.

The last mention he makes of such matters is in connection with a coronation of Anne Boleyn, arranged for a revival of Henry VIII, October 26, 1727, in honour of the actual coronation of George II in that year. There is much concerning this show in Theophilus Cibber's Life of Barton Booth. Theophilus says that he himself added to the procession—what throughout the century to come remained incrusted on it—the ceremony of the Champion in Westminster Hall. But I will content myself by quoting from the Apology of the elder Cibber.

In 1728 [not 1726, as Cibber states], Cibber and his fellow-actors were sued by Sir Richard Steele, in connection with their very patent, just mentioned. Cibber pleaded in person before the Master of the Rolls, and gave the following interesting testimony: "Now Sir, though the Menagers are not all of them able to write Plays, yet they have all of them been able to do (I won't say as good, but at least) as profitable a thing. They have invented, and adorn'd a Spectacle, that for Forty Days together has brought more Money to the House than the best Play that ever was writ. The Spectacle I mean, sir, is that of the Coronation-Ceremony of *Anna Bullen:* And though we allow a good Play to be the more laudable Performance, yet, Sir, in the profitable Part of it, there is no Comparison."

Processions were then, as for long after, almost the chief source of theatrical splendour in shows. Perhaps much of the money for decoration went into these things. I hate to suggest that some of the figurantes may have been of pasteboard. Chetwood, publishing in 1749, writes thus of the very same show, in his General History of the Stage:

> *King Henry the Eighth,* with the Coronation, in the utmost magnificence, was performed in the Year of his present Majesty's Accession to the Throne, at the Theatre-Royal in *Drury-lane, London.* The Success *there* was beyond the Bounds of Expectation; it was even added to every Play, as a Pantomime, &c. and exhibited, that one Season, 75 Times [the Coronation, not Henry VIII, I take it].
>
> The Theatre in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields* got up a *Mock Coronation,* as a Burlesque upon that in *Drury-lane,* but the Audience took a differ-

ent turn . . . . for the poor Mock Peers and Magistrates were pelted off the Stage, in the utmost Contempt, and all their Study and Labour came to nothing at all.

AARON HILL

The productions I have mentioned were, of course, very special performances, and the unction with which Cibber immortalises them proves a corresponding paucity of "decoration" for others. Remaining doubt as to this may be removed by a reading of Aaron Hill's dedication to his tragedy of The Fatal Vision, or the Fall of Siam, 1716, for which, as his biographer writes in 1760, "he caused new scenes to be painted, and"—in his usual princely way—"gave the whole benefit to the company of the play house in Lincoln's-Inn fields." Says the Dedication: "The Decoration, which, however slighted, or ill-understood, among us, is a fifth Essential; and without it, 'tis impossible but that the finest Tragedy must be maim'd, and strain on Probability: to this I paid a very great regard, in the Contrivance of the Play: And all the Dresses and the Scenes, were new: and such, who saw 'em, in the Representation, will confess them not unpleasing, and extremely differing from anything which has been lately seen upon the English Stages."

This seems to me to be conclusive evidence, and far-reaching. In the first place, decoration was "slighted," in 1716. To this, Hill "paid great attention in the contrivance of the play"; does that mean such effects as the practicable arch—rather than flats which "draw"—the arch already referred to, as unusual, through which the characters passed, in Act I, to meet the spectacle further up-stage? Furthermore, not only the dresses, as so often in Cibber's account, but also the scenes were new, and "extremely differing" from anything "which has been lately seen"—that is, say, during the age of Cibber and his partners—not only on one stage, but on both convention-ridden Drury Lane and the new and more richly stocked Lincoln's Inn Fields. The words specifically are—"lately seen upon the English stages." That is to say, Aaron Hill's self-imposed stage-

management and his scenes were quite beyond what fell to the lot of other new tragedies or presumably older ones, except those for which—like The Prophetess or The Island Princess—a special effort was made; and they were better even than anything Cibber or Rich had provided up to that time. In other words, the customary staging—usually "slighted"—did not amount to much on the London stages, in the years anterior to 1716; that it amounted to but little in 1723 is proved by Hill's expenditure in mounting his own play of Henry V, a second attempt at paying for one's own wares. According to Victor, this unique privilege of the author cost him £200, surely a small sum compared with the £600 Cibber and his brother-managers had laid out five years before on costumes alone for All for Love. Fortunately, the printed stage directions of Henry V show what Hill desired for his money.

The first act calls for the "English Camp before Harfleur, with a Chair of state"; the second, for "the French Camp: Scene changes to the Princess's Pavilion" [they were very fond of these pavilion effects]. In Act III, after a few minutes in the French Pavilion, "Scene changes to a Barrier, on a Bridge, Trumpets from Both Sides: Enter on one Part, the French King, on the Bridge, attended by the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, &c. below: On the other Side of the Bridge, King Henry, with the Dukes of Exeter and York, Scroop, Cambridge and Gray, below. The Kings embrace over the Bar." In a few minutes, "Enter the Dauphin on the Bridge, leading the Princess in a Veil, attended by Charlot." Later, "the Princess and Charlot come forward on the Stage."

The fifth Act has "Scene, a large Champian [*sic*], with the Castle of Agincourt at a Distance: on the one side the English camp; on the other, the French." After the battle begins, "the Genius of England arises and sings."

This surely is a meagre showing compared with the gorgeous spectacle of Rinaldo, twelve years before, at the Opera-house; but the legitimate stage was always Cinderella to the wicked sisters, opera and spectacle of all kinds,

including pantomime, just then (1723) asserting its claims in both theatres.

SHAKESPEARE, 1738–1742

I skip nearly twenty years, years of scanty records, and arrive at another Shakespearian adaptation offering a few scenic hints—George Lillo's Marina, produced at the end of our period, at Covent Garden in 1738. The stage directions show at least that, to use Tate Wilkinson's quaint expression, "our grannies had an idea of what they did not possess." The first act of Lillo's play is laid in "a Grove, with a Prospect of a calm Sea, near the City of Tharsus." The first of Act II represents an Apartment, adjoining to a Temple at the Court of Tharsus. "The Scene draws, and discovers a Temple with a Monument." Scenes in a house in Ephesus and in a Street in Ephesus finally are replaced by "the Temple of Diana, with her Statue and Altar. Near them Thaisa is discovered, sleeping; two Priestesses attending, who come forward." Into this sacred precinct Pericles is carried in a litter.

All this is very little to fall back on, but such as it is, it is, so far as I know, about all there is for the age of Cibber. Lewis Riccoboni, as we have seen, gives high praise, in 1741, to the English performances, "which are nobly ornamented with Decorations and Dresses." Riccoboni carries out the impression given by other travellers, many decades before —Sorbière, Monconys, Magolotti—as to the extreme beauty of the English theatres and their productions. The English people, meantime, were exercising their inalienable privilege of finding fault and criticising at every turn.

In spite of Riccoboni, however, I believe that I have culled enough from the production of that past age to warrant my statement, oft-repeated, that the regular drama went often, if not usually, shabbily mounted, and the few specially advertised or heralded big revivals were but the exceptions that proved the rule. My ground of faith is a perusal of the advertisements of the two theatres to be found in the extra-illustrated copy of Doran's Annals of the

Stage in the Theatre Collection at Harvard University. These advertisements belonged to Genest, compiler of The Account of the Stage, and a note in his handwriting states that they were cut out of newspapers by Isaac Reed, and "I bought them at Mr. Reed's sale for sixteen guineas in 1827." These bills cover exactly the last five years of our period—1738–42. Pantomime and farce are frequently found in the programmes, but the most notable thing is the recrudescence of singing and dancing between the acts of plays, even of those so serious as Julius Cæsar (at Drury Lane, January 29, 1738), and Measure for Measure, at the same house on April 12th of the same year.

This very Julius Cæsar, however, is advertised "with Scenes and Decorations, proper to the Play," a new formula for this tragedy. The most interesting Shakespearian items in the list, I may say, are the announcements at the two theatres of the revival, previously cited, of Shakespearian plays not acted heretofore for many decades—the histories King John, Richard II, Henry VI, Part I, and Henry V, at Covent Garden, as well as As You Like It, Twelfth Night, etc., at Drury Lane. None of these—not even Lillo's Marina—carries any word about scenery or decoration, except Richard II, and the announcement of that is so very succinct as to be especially tantalising—"With Proper Decorations," simply that and nothing more. Here, however, Davies, in his Miscellanies, unexpectedly comes to our assistance. In speaking of Richard II, he says, "when this play was revived at the theatre in Covent Garden, above forty years since, the ancient ceremony which belonged to the single combat was very accurately observed, with all the decorations and arrangements proper to the appellant and respondent, the spectators and the judges. Amongst the latter the king was seated on a throne of state. The combatants were dressed in complete armour. Two chairs, finely adorned, were placed on opposite sides of the lists: to these they retired after each of them had stood forth and spoken. Bolingbroke was acted by Ryan. Walker personated Mowbray. His helmet was

laced so tightly under his chin, that, when he endeavoured to speak, nobody could understand him; and this obstacle occasioned a laugh from the audience: however, this was soon removed, and the actor was heard with attention. In their persons, dress and demeanour, they presented something like an image of the old trial of right by duel." Davies also tells us that Hallam, who played Aumerle in the revival, "invented the armour and other decorations preparatory to" this combat. Even here there is nothing about scenery as such; it is of grouping and costume that Davies speaks.

PANTOMIME

A moment's reflection will show that most of the material cited above concerns itself with the Opera-house or with the Theatre in Drury Lane. During almost all the age of Cibber, the theatre of John Rich, first in Lincoln's Inn Fields (on the site of Betterton's old house) and then in Covent Garden, was a powerful rival to the settled fortune of Drury Lane. There Rich, the perfecter, if not the inventor of English pantomime, displayed the wonders of his mimetic skill as Harlequin, and, as a deviser of stage show and spectacle, usually put the managers of Drury Lane to the blush. In all his thirty years at Covent Garden, Rich never had to produce more than twenty of these shows, thirteen of which dated from his Lincoln's Inn Fields days, and "which," according to Mr. H. Saxe Wyndham, "he periodically revived at Covent Garden with a more elaborate setting to supplement the six or seven new pieces his fastidious taste had accepted." These pantomimes, be it remembered, were played as afterpieces to the main serious drama of the evening; but it was the trickery and scenic wonders of the after-piece that drew the crowds.

How it struck a contemporary may be learned from a laudatory notice, in Mist's Journal, of Jupiter and Europa, just produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields; the date of the article is April 6, 1723, the very time of the shaping of such shows into their final form. The extra information as to the sub-

scription by persons of quality and fortune is interesting; it elevates pantomime to the dignity of opera!

The Transformations which are work'd upon the Stage give both Delight and Surprize. The common People, perhaps, may take it for Inchantment, but even Men of the best Taste and Judgment cannot forbear being pleased at being so agreeably deceiv'd, or refuse their admiration when they behold so many curious Machines, Scenes, and Decorations as compose this ingenious Magick.

I understand it was undertaken upon a voluntary Subscription of several Persons of Quality and Fortune . . . . I will be so bold to say, it deserves Encouragement beyond an *Italian* Opera. I will say nothing of the Dexterity of the Actors . . . . it is necessary that the finest Workmen, and most curious Artists in the Kingdom should be employed in putting these Inventions in Execution. Here we behold the Power of Machinery when we see a Heathen God in an erect Posture shot from an Eminence of sixty or seventy Foot upon the Stage; and when he has finish'd his Part, he takes the same Flight from below: The Transformation of *Jupiter* into a Bull, is done in Sight of the Audience; the Contrivance and Deception is so excellent that we cannot account for it. These Experiments give our Mechanicks great opportunities of improving and growing excellent in their several Arts, which, I conceive is of more Consequence to the Publick, than any thing that is attempted at our Operas.

. . . . . .

I cannot forbear observing, that tho' the Charge be extraordinary, yet I think it wrong to raise the Prices so high as this was at first, especially the Gallery, which is commonly frequented by such as have not Money to throw away.

We see from this last notice that the practice of raising the prices for pantomime started very early. Drury Lane responded to the challenge of Rich by the production of Harlequin Dr. Faustus, the production, Theophilus Cibber says, of Mr. John Thurmond, Dancing Master. Theophilus, in his Life of Booth, apologises for the bringing out of such "trash." The managers of Drury Lane, strongly entrenched, were always pursued by full cry of criticasters, and it is no surprise to find the same Mist's, which lauded Rich's pantomime, very severely criticising this same Harlequin Dr. Faustus, on December 7, 1723. All it can find to say is, "the *Lady Luna* is a pretty dancer—the bringing

her down in a Machine to dance was a notable Contrivance." The sly Mist's, as all students of Defoe know, was as strongly Jacobite and Tory as it dared to be, and Steele was a Whig, and Cibber was his henchman! Verily it is difficult to dissociate art and politics.

Meantime, the curious in such matters may refer to a little volume of this very time which gives all the tricks, incidents, songs, dances, alterations and additions (to quote from the title-page) of the rival Harlequins Doctor Faustus at the two houses. Changes of scene there are aplenty, but apparently only such as rapid manipulation of "flats" would effect. Each terminates with grand spectacle and dance. At Drury Lane we have a "Poetical Heaven"; at Lincoln's Inn Fields, "the Scene changes to a Wood; a monstrous Dragon appears, and descends about half way down the Stage, and from each Claw drops a Dæmon," the Dragon swallowing Faustus, and "belching out Flames of Fire," etc. Beyond this last tableau, I find in neither production anything to astound. If this sort of display seemed wonderful to the people of 1723, how very, very little they must have witnessed in other productions. This, it will be observed, indirectly proves what I have all along tried to prove. But to return to the somewhat garrulous Theophilus Cibber:

> However the severer *Critics* might cry out against these *Mummeries* . . . . . as the Managers found laying out some *Hundreds* on such a *Farce* would bring them as many *Thousands*, who can be surprised that they continued them? . . . As Plays were then usually acted at *common Prices*, viz. Boxes 4s. Pit 2s. 6d. First Gallery 1s. 6d. Upper Gallery 1s. their Receipts made a much better Figure in the office, when, by these *Faragolios*, they were enabled to advance the Prices to Boxes 5s. &c. and so considerably increased the Number of their Spectators, that, instead of receiving (at common Prices) about 500*l per* Week, they generally found the Sum Total of six Days playing amounted to near 1000*l*—so great was the Run to many of these Entertainments, that the advanced Prices, by their frequent Use, became rather the common Prices. What was called advanced Prices, till then, had been taken only on very particular Occasions; such as Benefit-Nights, or the first Run of a new or revived Play, new-dressed, &c.

He represents the great Booth as answering critics in the coffee house with equal candour and reason:

> Mr. *Booth* frankly answered, That he thought a thin Audience was a much greater Indignity to the Stage than any they mentioned, and a full one most likely to keep up the Spirit of the Actor, and consequently heighten the Representation: He begged them to consider there were many more Spectators than men of Taste or Judgment; and if, by the Artifice of a Pantomime, they could entice a greater Number to partake of the *Utile Dulci* of a good Play . . . he could not see any great Harm in it: That as they were performed after the Play, they were no Interruption to it, and gave the People of Fashion a better Opportunity (if they left the House before the Farce began) of getting to their Coaches with more Ease than if the whole Audience poured out together. For his Part, he confessed he considered Profit as well as Fame: And as to their Plays,—even they reaped some Advantage from the Pantomimes, by adding to the Accounts, which enabled the Managers to be more expensive in Habits, and other Decorating of the Theatre in general, and to give better Encouragement to their Performers.

Colley Cibber, likewise, in his Apology speaks, though half-shamedly, in defence of the inauguration of this sort of thing in his house. The public preferred Harlequin to Hamlet: "If I am ask'd (after my condemning these Fooleries myself)—[he had just called them Poetical Drams, Gin-shops of the Stage] how I came to assent or continue my Share of the Expence to them? I have no better Excuse for my Error than confessing it. I did it against my Conscience!"

Here, therefore, is a sufficient reason why I am not able to entertain my reader with definite accounts of scenery in connection with Shakespeare on Cibber's stage. The new scenery then, as for a great part of Garrick's reign, was given to these stage-fripperies that drew the thoughtless; there was no money left to "decorate" the great writers of tragedy and comedy. Wilks, Booth, Cibber, Mrs. Oldfield and Mrs. Porter, at one house, Quin and Mrs. Horton (for a time) and Ryan, at the other, were the sole "decoration" provided for the poets. On the whole, I think their state was the more gracious; at any rate, I can find any amount

of description of these actors and their work, whereas I can only with the most extreme research unearth the names of the scene-painters and carpenters from the dust-heaps of the past.

Let us conclude the chapter by quoting from the Dunciad (III, 229–244) the following excellent description of a pantomimic chaos:

> He look'd, and saw a sable Sorc'rer rise,
> Swift to whose hand a winged volume flies:
> All sudden, Gorgons hiss, and dragons glare,
> And ten-horn'd fiends and giants rush to war.
> Hell rises, Heav'n descends, and dance on Earth,
> Gods, imps, and monsters, music, rage, and mirth,
> A fire, a jig, a battle and a ball,
> Till one wide conflagration swallows all.
>
> Thence a new world, to nature's laws unknown,
> Breaks out refulgent, with a heav'n its own:
> Another Cynthia her new journey runs,
> And other planets circle other suns:
> The forests dance, the rivers upward rise,
> Whales sport in woods, and dolphins in the skies,
> And last, to give the whole creation grace,
> Lo! one vast Egg produces human race.

The last line, as R. W. Lowe points out, refers to the famous scene in Harlequin Sorcerer, in which Rich as Harlequin was hatched by the rays of the sun from a large egg on the stage. His pantomime, after leaving the shell, was wonderful.

CONCLUSION

As a final word, let me add this detached but important bit. Just before the new theatre in Covent Garden opened, the Daily Journal for Monday, September 16, 1732, stated, according to Mr. Wyndham: "We hear that Mr. Harvey and Mr. Lambert have been employed some time in painting the scenes for the New Theatre in Covent Garden." We gratefully seize on these names of artists. Davies says of the scenery used at the opening, "The scenes were new

A JUST VIEW OF THE BRITISH STAGE
Attributed to Hogarth, 1725

BERENSTADT (SOMETIMES PRINTED AS FARINELLI), CUZZONI AND SENESINO
Attributed to Hogarth, 1725

and extremely well painted. All the decorations were suited to the grandeur and magnificence of the house." Harvey's "Pallace" we shall hear of among scenes inventoried at Covent Garden in 1744. George Lambert was a landscape-painter in the style of Gaspard Poussin. We also learn of Rich's engaging scenery by a celebrated Italian artist Servandoni, which was never used, at least for its original purpose, the decoration of Handel's opera Alceste.

At about the time Harvey was beautifying the stage of Rich's theatre, Hayman was decorating the scene at Drury Lane. An Essay on the Theatres: or, the Art of Acting. A Poem in Imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry (1745) highly extols the work of one whom a foot-note describes as "a young Gentleman, a Painter, very excellent in his Art, whose Scenes at Drury-lane Theatre have always met with greatest approbation":

> Hayman by Scenes our Senses can controul,
> And with creative *Power* charm the Soul;
> His easy Pencil flows with just Command,
> And Nature starts obedient to his Hand:
> We hear the Tinkling Rill, we view the Trees
> Cast dusky Shades, and wave the gentle Breeze:
> Here shoots through leafy Bow'rs a sunny Ray,
> That gilds the Grove, and emulates the Day:
> There Mountain Tops look glad; there Vallies sing,
> And through the Landscape blooms eternal Spring.

We offer to close the discussion two drawings often, if uncertainly, attributed to Hogarth. The first, of the year 1725, is the oft-reproduced satire on the condition of the contemporary theatre—A Just View of the British Stage—with the faces of Comedy and Tragedy plastered over with bills announcing pantomimes, with Jonson's ghost rising in anger, and with Wilks, Cibber and Booth manipulating the wires and machinery of pantomimic art. The drawing is valuable as showing an unmistakable stage-set of a room with back flats and side-wings—the conventional setting of the day; possibly it represents the very stage of Drury Lane Theatre.

The other burlesque, of Berenstadt [sometimes wrongly labelled Farinelli], Cuzzoni and Senesino, offers indubitable evidence of an opera set of the same year, 1725. It is not elaborate, but it is elegant, and may well be studied in connection with the Fitzgiggo drawing for an Artaxerxes setting in 1763. Stately columns for wings, and a plain pair of flats for a background; verily we pampered jades of Thespis would find but little to admire in this decidedly plain mounting of an opera when Cuzzoni and Senesino reigned supreme. It is hoped that the observer will not overlook the Page holding up the train of Cuzzoni.

CHAPTER XI

COSTUMES

WHAT I have said of the costuming of plays in the age of Betterton applies equally to the age of Cibber. No doubt warriors dressed *à la Romaine*, in a style more and more fantastic, as portraits of the Garrick age show. The heroines sported larger and larger panniers and hoops, with trains carried by pages. Both sexes wore the enormous head-dress, masses of puffed and frizzled hair, crowned with feathers and jewels, in the case of women; with a hat or helmet and a gigantic plume of feathers, in the case of men. The Garrick age is rich in pictures of such make-up. Suitability of attire was hardly considered in tragedy. From Charles Gildon's attack on the plays of Rowe—A New Rehearsal, or, Bays the Younger, 1714—we glean, at the very beginning of our period, invaluable testimony. Freeman, in this dialogue, does not like the "Motley, Linsey Woolsey Stile" of Jane Shore; but, asserts Dapper, "I believe the Poet design'd that, for he has directed the Dress of *Gloster* and *Jane* to be of those Days; but those of all the other Players to be modern." The exclamation-mark required to point this statement must be supplied by a Twentieth-Century reader.

HINTS FROM ADDISON

Number 42 of the Spectator offers treasure-trove of unprecedented richness. In this, "Methods to Aggrandize the Persons in Tragedy," Addison is so illuminating that I scarcely know what to omit.

"*Aristotle*," he begins, "has observed, that ordinary Writers in Tragedy endeavour to raise Terror and Pity in their Audience, not by proper Sentiments and Expressions, but by the Dresses and Decorations of the Stage. There is

something of this kind very ridiculous in the *English* Theatre. When the Author has a mind to terrify us, it thunders; when he would make us melancholy, the Stage is darkened. But among all our Tragick Artifices, I am the worst offended at those which are made use of to inspire us with magnificent Ideas of the Persons that speak. The ordinary Method of making an Hero, is to clap a Plume of Feathers upon his Head, which rises so very high, that there is often a greater Length from his Chin to the Top of his Head, than to the Sole of his Foot. One would believe that we thought a great Man and a tall Man the same thing. This very much embarrasses the Actor, who is forced to hold his Head extreamly stiff and steady all the while he speaks; and notwithstanding any Anxieties which he pretends for his Mistress, his Country, or his Friends, one may see by his Action, that his greatest Care and Concern is to keep the Plume of Feathers from falling off his Head . . . . . As these superfluous Ornaments upon the Head make a great Man, a Princess generally receives her Grandeur from those additional incumbrances that fall into her Tail: I mean the broad sweeping Train that follows her in all her Motions, and finds constant Employment for a Boy who stands behind her to open and spread it to Advantage. I do not know how others are affected at this Sight, but I must confess, my Eyes are wholly taken up with the Page's Part; and, as for the Queen, I am not so attentive to any thing she speaks, as to the right adjusting of her Train, lest it should chance to trip up her Heels, or incommode her, as she walks to and fro upon the Stage."

This habit of "aggrandizing" the chief character continued practically throughout the Eighteenth Century, as portraits of leading players attest. The gigantic plume of the hero is almost unbelievable in altitude and absurd inappropriateness. With it went the high-heeled buskins referred to by James Ralph on page 325: "Two Foot and a Half of Plume and Buskin." As to the page of the Queen, the reader will remember that Andromache in The Distrest Mother had two, when Sir Roger went to the Play, as de-

scribed in Spectator 335, March 25, 1712. And the Knight made a little mistake as to one of her pages, "whom at his first entering he took for Astyanax." Tragedy, in Aaron Hill's burlesque Snake in the Grass, comes on in black velvet, with a page holding her train. Mrs. Tragic, also, in Charlotte Charke's The Art of Management (1735), on leaving the theatre, bids farewell to the "haughty Strutt and the tir'd Page whose akeing Legs . . . the Player's Pride has oft supported." Again, I call attention to the black pages of the Indian Queen as represented by Mrs. Bracegirdle; how inappropriate, as Africans, in prehistoric Mexico, yet, as has been said, how proud they are, and what a good time they are having!

But now for the majesty and pomp of Kings. "Another mechanical Method of making great Men," proceeds the 42nd Spectator, "and adding Dignity to Kings and Queens, is to accompany them with Halberts and Battel-axes [compare what Chappuzeau said in 1674]. Two or three Shifters of Scenes, with the Two Candle-Snuffers, make up a compleat Body of Guards upon the *English* Stage; and by the Addition of a few Porters dressed in Red Coats, can represent above a dozen Legions. I have sometimes seen a couple of Armies drawn up together upon the Stage, when the Poet has been disposed to do Honour to his Generals. It is impossible for the Reader's Imagination to multiply twenty Men into such prodigious Multitudes, or to fancy that two or three hundred thousand Soldiers are fighting in a room of forty or fifty Yards in Compass. Incidents of such a nature should be told. not represented."

COSTUMES THE PROPERTY OF THE THEATRE

These costumes, even the wigs, frequently—as we see from Addison's inventory—belonged, not to the player, but to the house. Many, through the century, are the squabbles as to the right to wear a certain dress or part of a dress, a hat or a wig; the tragic story of Macklin and his accidentally killing Hallam, a fellow actor, in a quarrel over a wig

recurs as a case in point. Cibber's Apology is a complete verification of my statement.

At the departure of the old actors from Drury Lane in 1695, he speaks with rueful humour of the attempts of the youngsters who remained to fit the clothes that had been left behind—to fill dead men's shoes, as it were. "Nothing, sure, could more painfully regret a judicious Spectator than to see, at our first setting out, with what rude Confidence those Habits which actors of real merit had left behind them were worn by giddy Pretenders that so vulgarly disgraced them! Not young Lawyers in hir'd Robes and Plumes at a Masquerade could be less what they would seem, or more awkwardly personate the Characters they belong'd to." Cibber goes on to say that Powell, whom he cared little for, anyway, "murder'd many a Hero only to get into his Cloaths"—not a bad joke for a time so far away. Finally, when he himself played Fondlewife (Dogget's great part) he so well imitated the noted comedian that "when I spoke, the surprize was still greater, as if I had not only borrow'd his Cloaths, but his Voice too."

This being so, the elegance and suitability of dressing in any play came directly within the managers' sphere; and here Cibber shows the rivalry and jealousy between the tragedians, who must see to it that gorgeous tragedy in sceptred pall came sweeping by, and the comedians, who had no excuse for such splendid accoutrement. In Betterton's company at the new theatre such disagreement arose, and even at Drury Lane Cibber admits the sky was not always serene. With Betterton's group, "the Tragedians seem'd to think their Rank as much above the Comedians as in the Characters they severally acted; when the first were in their Finery, the latter were impatient at the Expence, and look'd upon it as rather laid out upon the real than the fictitious Person of the Actor; nay, I have known in our own Company this ridiculous sort of Regret carried so far that the Tragedian has thought himself injured when the Comedian pretended to wear a fine Coat! I remember *Powel*, upon surveying my first dress in the *Relapse*, was

out of all temper, and reproach'd our Master in very rude terms that he had not so good a suit to play *Cæsar Borgia* in! tho' he knew, at the same time, my Lord *Foppington* fill'd the House, when his bouncing Borgia would do little more than pay Fiddles and Candles to it. . . . When *Betterton* proposed to set off a Tragedy, the Comedians were sure to murmur at the Charge of it . . . *Dogget* . . . could not with Patience look upon the costly Trains and Plumes of Tragedy, in which knowing himself to be useless, he thought were all a vain Extravagance."

TESTIMONY OF CIBBER

In the heyday of the triumvirate (before Booth superseded Dogget), Wilks seems to have been something of a trial, by reason of his desire for fine array; he evidently supplied himself with more gorgeous raiment than the comedian Dogget felt was justified by the treasury report. But Wilks—sly rogue—always refurbished a few costumes for minor actors, in order that he might not seem to arrogate all sartorial glory to himself. Cibber's account is too piquant to be omitted.

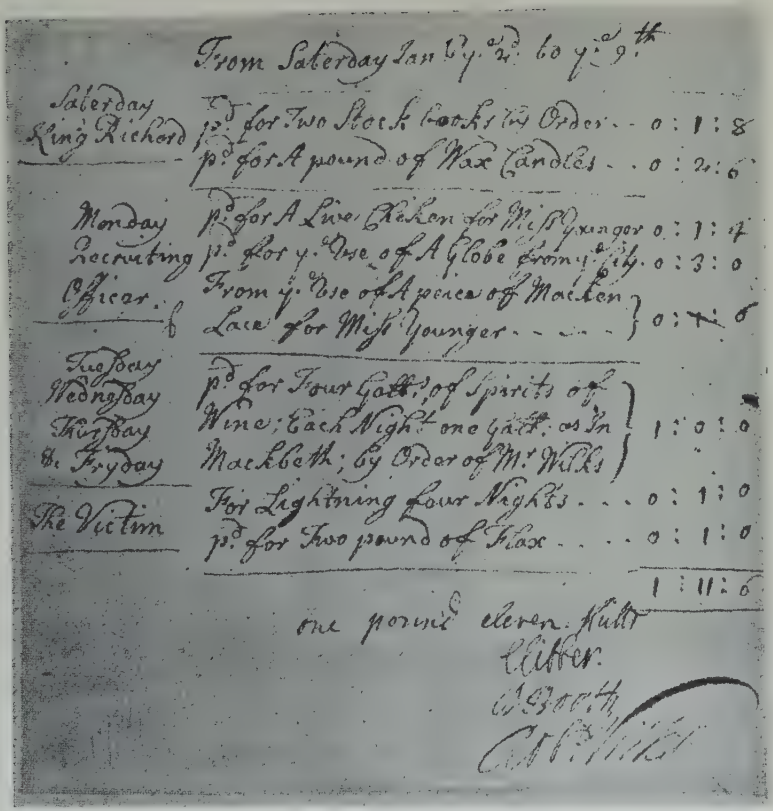
"*Dogget* who was naturally an Œconomist, kept our Expences and Accounts to the best of his Power within regulated Bounds and Moderation. *Wilks*, who had a stronger Passion for Glory than Lucre, was a little apt to be lavish in what was not always as necessary for the Profit as the Honour of the Theatre: For example, at the Beginning of almost every Season, he would order two or three Suits to be made or refresh'd for Actors of moderate Consequence, that his having constantly a new one for himself might seem less particular, tho' he had as yet no new Part for it. This expeditious Care . . . *Dogget* always look'd upon with the Eye of a Man in Pain . . . When I saw him and his Followers so prettily dress'd out for an old Play . . . . I at most but whisper'd him not to give himself so much trouble about others, upon whose performance it would but be thrown away."

The care with which these three guardians of Thespis watched over the treasury is vouched for by the Cibbers. Nothing gives one a clearer perception of it than the bill reproduced on the opposite page, for various properties used in the week's offerings of Richard III, The Recruiting Officer, and Macbeth, and gravely signed by all three managers; not only that, but revised and cut down by them, as a glance at the bill shows. This interesting document I found in the extra-illustrated Doran in the Theatre Collection at Harvard. Another bill, signed by the same dramatic trio, is included in the extra-illustrated Apology of Cibber in the Harry Widener Collection, also at Harvard. So far as I could make out the name, some sempster named Malvidatte had rendered a bill on "February ye 24, 1715–6 for Mrs. Opheilds, for Niew Making a Slash'd Bodeid habit petit-coate, Darning and binding, £2, 16s." But some one had ruthlessly run a pen through the 16s., and Mrs. Oldfield, no doubt, was restored to earlier loveliness for the modest sum of two pounds, paid by the managers. Tate Wilkinson assures us that Mrs. Oldfield's dresses were trimmed with gold lace so pure it would safely come through a fire; yet you see!

MIST'S WEEKLY JOURNAL, 1723

In spite of all these efforts, however, the bitter Mist's Weekly Journal of February 2, 1723, severely arraigns the careful three for parsimony in dressing the inferior actors and for keeping all the splendour to themselves. What a world, my masters!

When we come to consider the *Decoration* of the Stage at present, we shall sometimes find it magnificent and well ordered. In this I include the *Habits* of the Characters or Persons of the Drama, in which the Propriety is not near so well observ'd as in the *Scenery;* for we shall often see a *shabby* King, surrounded by a Party of his *Guards,* every Man of which belongs to the *ragged Regiment.* One would think that the Managers of the Theatre were *Republicans* in their *Principles,* and that they did this on Purpose to bring *Monarchy* into *Contempt;* for 'tis certain, that *Duncan,* King of *Scotland,*



From Saterday Jan^{y} 2^{d} to y^{e} 9th

Saterday
King Richard
p^{d} for Two Stock books by Order . . 0 : 1 : 8
p^{d} for A pound of Wax Candles . . 0 : 2 : 6

Monday
Recruiting
Officer.
p^{d} for A Live Chicken for Miss Younger 0 : 1 : 4
p^{d} for y^{e} Use of A Globe from y^{e} 4th 0 : 3 : 0
From y^{e} Use of A peice of Macken Lace for Miss Younger . . . . 0 : 1 : 6

Tuesday
Wednesday
Thursday
& Fryday
p^{d} for Four Gall^{s} of Spirits of Wine; Each Night one Gall^{n} as In Macbeth; by Order of M^{r} Wilks 1 : 0 : 0

The Victim
For Lightning four Nights . . . 0 : 1 : 0
p^{d} for Two pound of Flax . . . . 0 : 1 : 0

1 : 11 : 6

one pound eleven shill^{s}
Cibber.
Booth
Wilks

A BILL FOR DRURY LANE THEATRE, SIGNED BY CIBBER, BOOTH AND WILKS

From the Harvard Theatre collection

has not had a new Habit for this last Century; and the mighty *Julius Cæsar*, first Emperor of *Rome*, appears as ragged as a Colt, and many other Monarchs I could name that are no better dress'd than *Heathen Philosophers;* the Reason is, that you'll find those Parts are not play'd by any of the *three* Managers; and it is their awkard *Vanity* to appear fine themselves, tho' never so much out of Character; so that when you go to see a Play there, in new Habits, it is not the *King*, the *Prince*, or the *General*, but *C*— or *B*— you are to see well dress'd.

To the end of the period, I suspect, similar conditions prevailed; in fact Jeffry Cat-Call, writing to the Prompter (January 24, 1735), bitingly says: "When a King of *England* has honour'd the Stage, with his whole Court, in full Splendor, about him, I'd have undertaken to purchase the Cloaths of all his *Nobility* for the Value of Five Pounds."

It will be seen, then, that the managers were not unnoticed and unreproved by the public. Ralph, for instance, in the oft-quoted Taste of the Town (1731) animadverts on the glories of a stage properly "decorated. Tragedy borrows vast Advantages from the Additional Ornaments of Feathers and high Heels . . . Two Foot and a Half of Plume and Buskin must go a great Length [but about "Two Foot and a Half," I should guess] in giving an Audience a just Notion of a Hero. . . . What is a Tyrant without his Guards? or a Princess without her Maids of Honour? a General without a Troop of Officers?"

To Aaron Hill we are indebted for the first sensible consideration of accuracy in costume. As far back as 1724 (October 12th), he speaks in the Plain Dealer of an advertisement for a puppet show which promises to dress every character in its "own Country Habits." What a lesson for the regular theatres! Hill hopes "after the Publick Taste has been so refin'd, by these *Chips of a new Block*, that we shall see no more Intermixture of the Ancient, with the Modern Dresses." Jeffry Cat-Call, in the letter previously quoted (Prompter, January 24, 1735), submits that "the Dress . . . shou'd always be suited to the Person who takes it upon him. An *old Roman* cou'd never, with any Propriety, be made to look like a *Modern Frenchman;* nor

a *Dutch Burgo-Master's Wife*, like a Queen of Great Britain." The reader recalls, in Addison's list, at the beginning of the last chapter, an imperial mantle worn by Cyrus the Great, Julius Cæsar, Henry VIII and Bajazet!

That Hill was ready to carry these theories to unexampled lengths, we gather from a letter he wrote (October 28, 1731) to Wilks, regarding the costumes for his play Athelwold (at that time called The Generous Traitor). Hill wished his Saxons to be dressed as Saxons—not as Englishmen of 1731, and his letter expressing his ideas on the subject is too good—as nearly the first thing of its kind in English theatrical history—to be omitted:

I send you, herewith, the shadows of a set of dresses for the *Generous Traitor*. You must not expect *drawings*. . . . .

Leolyn, because a *Briton*, ought not to have his habit *Saxon* all; the rest have the authority of *Verstegan's Antiquities* for the ground-work of their appearance; only I need not observe to you, that some *heightenings* were necessary, because *beauty* must be join'd to *propriety*, where the decoration of the stage, is the purpose to be provided for.

For this reason, too, I had regard to a *contrast* of colours, in the several parts of each person's dress; and in those of the whole number, with respect to their appearance, together. . . . .

To say nothing, as to *impropriety*, in the custom of dressing characters *so far back*, *in time*, after the common fashions of our days, it weakens *probability*, and cuts off, in great measure, what *most strikes* an audience; for it relaxes the pomp of Tragedy, and the generality being led, by the *eye*, can conceive nothing extraordinary, where they *see* nothing uncommon. It is, also, worth notice, that a fine, natural *shape*, receives great advantage, from a well-imagined turn of *habit*, and an awkward, unnatural one has an *air*, that burlesques dignity without it.

The *Furrs*, which you will observe pretty frequent, in the *figures*, are a prime *distinction*, in the *old Saxon* habits; and will have something of a *grandeur*, not without *beauty:* but they need not be *real* furrs—many cheap *imitations* will have the same effect, at the distance, they will be seen from. Most other parts of the dresses may be compleated, by giving *new* uses, to the *old* reserves of your wardrobe; for if I do not mistake, it is rather *fancy*, than *expence*, that does the business in these cases.

As to the *coronets*, it was the custom of those times, for persons of *high rank*, to wear them, upon *common*, as well as extraordinary occa-

sions; but they must be distinguished . . . and worn in a more becoming position, higher off from the forehead, and a little leaning to one side. There is an advantage will attend the use of their long *single feather*, beyond that of the *plume* . . . It will be light, and may be worn, throughout five acts, without warmth or inconvenience.

How much of Hill's ambition was realised in the performance? We can only guess from a hint in his letter to Pope (December 17, 1731). Athelwold was a failure, and Hill generously writes, "it were a downright shame, if these good People [of the theatre], who gave the Tragedy all its merit of fine dressing and sceneing, be suffered to lose their money."

The effort, in regard to Athelwold, must have been exceptional. If any doubt remain, let the reader disperse it by Tate Wilkinson's account of stage-dressing in 1747, when he first turned his boyish eyes to the theatre. That chronicle I reserve for discussion in the age of Garrick.

BOOK III

THE AGE OF GARRICK

(1742–1776)

CHAPTER XII

THE THEATRES

FLEETWOOD AT DRURY LANE

During the first few years of Garrick's connection with the stage, Drury Lane was under the mismanagement of Fleetwood, and Covent Garden under the unliterary but businesslike management of John Rich.

According to Davies, in his life of Garrick, "Charles Fleetwood, Esq. was a gentleman of an ancient and respectable family, and possessed of a large paternal estate. His person was genteel and his manner elegant." This fortune he largely diminished by gaming, but with the remains of it he bought, as we have seen, the greater part of the Drury Lane patent, at a time when some of the best actors in the company had revolted and opened the little theatre in the Haymarket; these seceders Fleetwood easily persuaded back to the home theatre. "For some years," according to Davies, "by the prudent advice of the principal players, more especially, I believe, of Mr. Charles Macklin, ... and the unremitted labours of this actor, Quin, Clive, Pritchard, and some others, the theatre at Drury Lane was in a state of considerable credit. . . . . But it was impossible to restrain so irregular and expensive a man as the patentee within the bounds of prudence and economy. After he had happily been obliged to forsake the practice of high play . . . . he was seized with an unaccountable passion for low diversions, and took a strange delight in the company of the meanest of the human species. This man of genteel address and polite manners conceived a peculiar fondness for the professors of the art of boxing; his company was divided between sturdy athletics and ridiculous buffoons. . . . .

"The profits which arose from the acting of his best plays

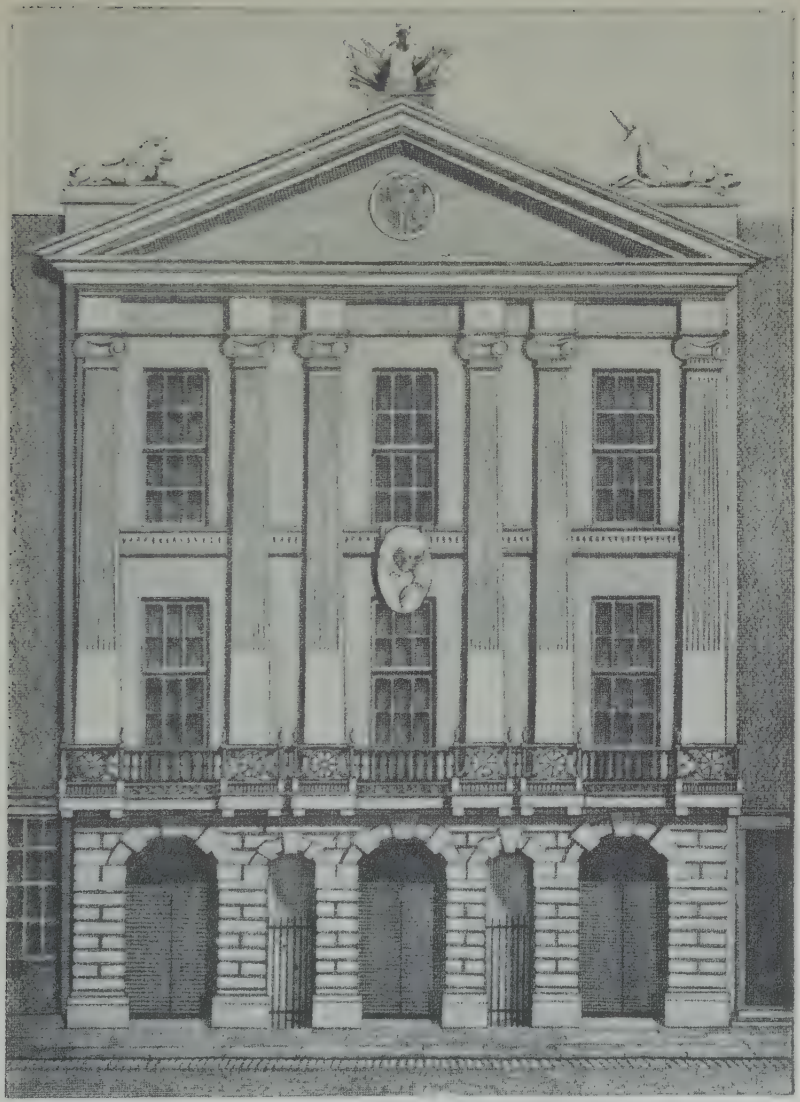
were appropriated to his favourite amusements. The theatre was farmed to one Pierson, his treasurer, who had lent large sums of money to the manager . . .

"In this distracted state of Fleetwood's management, the ill treatment of the players seemed to call aloud for redress. Bailiffs were often in possession of the theatre; and the properties, clothes, and other stage ornaments of the comedians, were sometimes seized upon by these low implements of the law. . . . ."

Under these circumstances, the actors, including Garrick, attempted, in 1743, to secure a new patent from the Lord Chamberlain; failing in this, they were forced to return to Fleetwood's fold, all except Macklin, whom the manager refused to re-engage. From this arose Macklin's inveterate enmity to Garrick, the actors having previously signed a formal agreement "by which they obliged themselves not to accede to any terms which might be proposed to them by the patentee, without the consent of all the subscribers."

GARRICK AND LACY AT DRURY LANE

In 1744, Fleetwood, weary of the game (or the strife, if you will), sold the remaining term of his patent to two bankers, Green and Amber, who associated with themselves James Lacy, formerly handy-man to Rich at Covent Garden. At this time, with the rebellion of Bonnie Prince Charlie brewing in Scotland, Garrick refused a share of the patent; instead he went to Ireland, for a brilliant season. In 1746-47, he and Quin filled their ever-memorable joint engagement at Covent Garden. Drury Lane again made overtures to Garrick. Assured of a renewal of the Drury Lane patent, "he [Lacy] wisely thought, the best way to secure so valuable an acquisition as Mr. Garrick, would be to offer him the moiety of it. . . . The tender of so considerable and valuable a thing as the half of a patent, was by no means unpleasing to Mr. Garrick. . . . . By paying the moderate sum of eight thousand pounds, he became joint-patentee of Drury Lane theatre with Mr. Lacy." In



THE THEATRE ROYAL, DRURY LANE, AS ALTERED BY GARRICK

From an old print, 1794

the autumn of 1747, they assumed control. "Mr. Garrick and Mr. Lacy divided the business of the theatre. . . . Mr. Lacy took upon himself the care of the wardrobe, the scenes and the economy of the household; while Mr. Garrick regulated the more important business of treating with authors, hiring actors, distributing parts in plays, superintending rehearsals, &c. Besides the profits accruing from his half share, he was allowed an income of £500 for his acting, and some particular emolument for altering plays, farces, &c."

COVENT GARDEN UNDER RICH AND UNDER BEARD

This arrangement continued at Drury Lane until the end of the period under discussion. At Covent Garden there was unbroken good fortune until the death of Rich in 1761. Dibdin says that he left a share in the theatre to his wife's brother, Wilford (father of Mrs. Bulkeley, the actress), and others, directing that the property should be sold for the benefit of his heirs, whenever a purchaser or purchasers could be found at £60,000. Mr. H. Saxe Wyndham reports, however, that no such sum is stipulated in the copy of his will. The management of the theatre fell to two sons-in-law, Bencraft and John Beard, the delightful singer. Beard devoted a great deal of attention to English operettas of the type of Love in a Village, long one of the most popular of stage offerings. In 1767, however, Beard retired, and the patent was sold to Thomas Harris, Rutherford, George Colman, the dramatist and heretofore a powerful aid to Garrick at the other theatre, and William Powell, the actor, whose brief star-like sparkle was at first thought to emanate from a planet. From the first this quartette sang horribly out of tune, the first two disagreeing on every point with the latter two. There are amusing contemporary accounts of Colman's barricading the house against Harris, who broke in a back window and carried off the greater part of the wardrobe. Difficulties were patched up, however, and the combination of Harris and Colman dragged on till 1777, when Colman went over to the Haymarket, and Harris was

left to do things in his own way. He became a great force in theatrical management, and was the strong business prop of the house, even in the days of Kemble's glory.

THE LITTLE THEATRE IN THE HAYMARKET

The third theatre to be kept in the mind of the reader is the little house in the Haymarket. This Cinderella had unexpectedly put on the glass slippers in 1766. For years it had been the exhibiting-place of variety shows, and of discontented actors like Macklin or Theophilus Cibber, when they seceded from the regular companies. Here Foote gave entertainments, getting around the law by inviting "guests" to take "a dish of tea" with him. This function became for a while a society "fad." In the winter he played at one or the other of the winter theatres, producing in them some of his lively farces, which in summer he transferred to the Haymarket. As the result of an accident by which he lost a leg, Foote was rewarded by the Duke of York (who was responsible for the accident) by the gift of a patent, besought by the duke from the king. By the terms of this grant, the Haymarket could be kept open from May 14th to September 14th, yearly—the term during which the winter theatres were closed. Thus Cinderella went to the party. "Thereupon," says Mr. Saxe Wyndham, "the manager made some extensive alterations and improvements in the house, which had hitherto been little better than a barn."

GENERAL THEATRICAL CONDITIONS

The time of beginning the representation, during the Garrick era, is noted in an announcement in the London Chronicle under date of October 4–6, 1768: "The theatres will not open the doors for admission until 5 o'clock—one hour before the performance." The closing of the play in 1767 is very specifically set forth in The Dramatic Time-Piece, or Perpetual Monitor, being the Calculation of the

Length of Time every Act takes in the Performing in all the Acting Plays at the Theatre-Royal. The compilation is the work of J. Brownsmith, Prompter at the Theatre in the Haymarket, and was intended as a guide to gentlemen who might wish to know exactly at what hour to order their carriages. The quaint preface apprises us that we must allow "only seven Minutes between each Act, for the intervening Music," and states positively that King Lear, for instance, concluded at 4 minutes after 9, Hamlet and Richard III 3 minutes after 9, Julius Cæsar 59 minutes after 8, and Macbeth 50 minutes after 8. Of course, the farce or the pantomimes succeeded, for those who cared to wait; and who did not? Prices of admission, it may be stated, remained about the same as during the Cibber *régime*.

We are not called upon to record many changes in the actual shape of the theatres during Garrick's time. At the beginning of the Lacy-Garrick management, the theatre in Drury Lane was enlarged to the extent of holding more by forty pounds a night. New approaches were made to the house, and the interior was altered, painted and decorated anew. It was enlarged again in 1763. We are informed, also, by Davies that "order, decency, and decorum, were the first objects which our young manager kept constantly in his eye at the commencement of his administration." . . . Punctuality in attendance at rehearsals was "also exacted and complied with." Details relating to lighting, stage-management, admission to the stage, etc., fall more properly under the discussion of staging. The important part played by mob-rule, as in the Fitzgiggo riots of 1763, I omit altogether.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PLAYS

GARRICK AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

Garrick played at Goodman's Fields in the season of 1741–42. The season of 1747–48 saw him ensconced at Drury Lane as joint manager with Lacy. Then began his reign at Drury Lane, which is beyond question the most glorious in English theatrical annals. During the first year his colleagues in the company were Spranger Barry, Mrs. Cibber, Mrs. Woffington and Mrs. Clive—a matchless combination, to endure but one year. The following year saw Mrs. Woffington at Covent Garden with Quin, under Rich's management, and in 1750–51 Barry and Mrs. Cibber joined these two, leaving Drury Lane poor indeed. Mrs. Cibber returned within a few seasons, and Barry considerably later, bringing with him his wife, soon to acquire great fame as Rosalind and Constance; but the famous Peg Woffington never returned to the Garrick fold.

The history of Drury Lane, from 1742 to 1776, the date of Garrick's retirement from the stage, will be recounted in the following pages; it is on the whole a record of very great players. The theatre in Covent Garden has no such glorious chronicle. It could never boast a Garrick, either in Quin for the first decade, or in Spranger Barry, who was for many years after 1750 the mainstay of the company. Peg Woffington's retirement in 1757 removed from its stage the most captivating comedienne of her time. Mrs. Cibber soon returned to Drury Lane, and George Ann Bellamy became the chief support on the distaff side. Toward the end of the period, Mrs. Yates appeared for a season or two, but she also was enlisted finally under the Garrick banner. Mossop and Powell, successively, both trained under Garrick, brought prestige to Covent Garden,

but never imperilled the popularity of Garrick. Rich more and more was forced to depend on pantomime, operetta (as we should call it) and spectacle to draw the crowds. There was no Garrick but Garrick.

SHAKESPEARE, 1742–1776

During this great period of about thirty-four years (1742–76), the history of Shakespearian production is comparatively easy to trace. We saw that at the very close of the preceding period—the age of Cibber—the wearying repetition of Hamlet, Lear, Othello, Macbeth, Cæsar and a few of the historical plays had been broken by an unexpected and somewhat inexplicable revival of several of the comedies not acted hitherto for very many years—As You Like It, The Merchant of Venice, Twelfth Night, etc. These plays, in the age of Garrick, became fixtures in the repertoire at Drury Lane, and all of them, except Twelfth Night, at Covent Garden. Measure for Measure, All's Well that Ends Well and Much Ado about Nothing also were revived in those last years, up to 1742, and emerged from time to time throughout the entire period we are about to discuss.

Meantime, it is interesting to note the persistence of the tragedies through all vicissitudes, at both houses. Throughout the theatrical seasons 1742–43 to 1775–76, thirty-four in all, Hamlet was acted every year at Drury Lane, and every year but two at Covent Garden. Macbeth missed four seasons at Drury Lane, and Lear five; but ten and fourteen, respectively, at Covent Garden. On the contrary, Othello failed to appear at Drury Lane in ten of the thirty-four seasons, but missed only seven at Covent Garden. After its revival in 1748–49 at Drury Lane, and in 1749–50 at the rival theatre, Romeo and Juliet was seldom out of the yearly repertoire; it never missed a season at Garrick's house until 1768–69, and but two thereafter; at Covent Garden it missed but one. Richard III failed of performance in four seasons at Drury Lane, and in five at Covent Garden. Both parts of Henry IV disappeared from Drury

Lane in the early 40's and were not seen again till the late 50's; thereafter they were acted with some frequency. At Covent Garden the first part was played almost constantly up to the season of 1764–65; the second part less often. Then both parts were revived at irregular intervals. Julius Cæsar fell into something like desuetude, having been in the bills at Drury Lane but one year of all those thirty-four, whereas, with Wilks and Booth it had been a feature of the regular repertoire; at Covent Garden it was acted in fourteen seasons. Henry VIII and King John were played from time to time on both stages; Henry V was given in twenty-one of the regular seasons at Covent Garden, but in only two under Garrick's management. As to the comedies, As You Like It, The Merchant of Venice, Twelfth Night and The Merry Wives of Windsor were acted during very many seasons at Drury Lane, all, except The Merry Wives, less frequently at Covent Garden. Much Ado about Nothing was revived by Garrick in 1748–49, and Cymbeline in 1761–62; Benedick and Posthumus became favourite parts of Garrick, and, after the plays were revived, they were hardly ever again absent from the repertoire. The Tempest in various forms, as Shakespeare wrote it, as Davenant and Dryden altered it, and as an opera, was given in nineteen different seasons, several of them successive; yet, oddly enough, it was never represented at Covent Garden. Measure for Measure was heard in eight seasons at Garrick's theatre, and in nine at Covent Garden; All's Well that Ends Well occasionally appeared in the bills at either place. Meantime there were infrequent performances at Goodman's Fields or at the Haymarket, some of them of great importance.

THE RELATION OF ACTORS TO THE PLAYS

The interesting fact in connection with these statistics is this: that in every case the repertoire was regulated by the presence or the absence in the company of actors capable of drawing the public in certain characters. The mastery of

MRS. WOFFINGTON AS MISTRESS FORD

From a Mezzotint by Faber after a painting by Haytley

Hamlet by Garrick accounts for the constant inclusion of the play in the repertoire of his theatre; at Covent Garden the play was acted frequently when Barry was a member of the company, less frequently when he was not. Garrick failed as Othello and Iago—hence the play was passed by for ten years at Garrick's theatre; Quin and Barry were highly esteemed as Othello—hence Othello was acted more regularly at Covent Garden. When Macklin was attached to either company, The Merchant of Venice was certain to be acted; less certain, when he was not. When Barry or Smith was at Covent Garden, Henry V figured in the bills; otherwise not. When there was no Quin or Barry at the same house, there was likely to be no King Lear. Quin was famous as Falstaff; Drury Lane had no Falstaff. Hence for ten years, the two parts of Henry IV were often acted at Covent Garden; hardly at all at Drury Lane. Shuter took up the part after Quin retired, and both parts of Henry IV and The Merry Wives of Windsor were kept in the repertoire. Love at Drury Lane finally won success in the character, and the three Falstaff plays came back to Garrick's stage. Romeo and Juliet, in spite of its great popularity, finally was neglected when Garrick and Barry and Mrs. Cibber became too old to look their famous characters. Finally, owing to Garrick's supreme success in the leading characters, Much Ado about Nothing and Cymbeline were revived constantly at Drury Lane. As You Like It was saved to the stage by a succession of great Rosalinds —Mrs. Pritchard, Mrs. Woffington, Mrs. Barry, Mrs. Yates. Measure for Measure was revived at times to give these same fair ladies an opportunity to appear as Isabella.

SHAKESPEARE RESTORED: MACBETH

This being the fate of the stock plays, what of newer revivals? So long have we been accustomed to the path of alteration which is downward, that it is with something of a shock of pleased surprise that we come on a tendency in the opposite direction. The first notable changes that

we discover in the first years of the age of Garrick are changes looking toward a restoration of the poet in plays heretofore manhandled by the Philistines.

Macbeth is the first—unless we include The Merchant of Venice—to be thus restored. On January 7, 1743–44, Garrick revived it "as written by Shakespeare," to the surprise of Quin, who ignorantly but pathetically asked, "What does he mean? Don't I play Macbeth as written by Shakespeare?" So little did actors or theatre-goers know of originals and copies! Garrick removed the wretchedly written scenes involving Lady Macduff and her platitudes and morals; indeed, he omits Shakespeare's scene of the murder of her children. The drunken porter does not appear; how could he in those days of unities-worship? The order of the play is much as in Shakespeare; but the business of the witches, with their music and dancing, is retained from Davenant. Indeed, much of it was retained by Kemble. And let it not be forgotten that the best critical taste of the time approved; in 1770, Francis Gentleman speaks highly of both in the Dramatic Censor. "A number of strange, indeed very strange apparitions, or sucking ghosts," he says in one place, "present themselves, and deliver flattering, dubitable predictions, well calculated to mislead credulity; and Macbeth's eagerly catching at the most favourable interpretation, shews coward conscience, like a drowning man, catching at every broken reed for support; the long train of shades, representing the succession of royalty, is well enough calculated to impress additional uneasiness upon the tyrant; but such a superabundance and variety of spectres palls even terror, fatigues imagination, and offends sight: a dance is very well introduced here to relieve attention."

Genest, in 1832, says that Garrick "added a contemptible dying speech to his part." Gentleman is of entirely different opinion. "Why the author," says he, "chose to execute so great a culprit behind the scenes, thereby depriving the audience of a most satisfactory circumstance, is not easy to imagine; death certainly is made, in this instance, too

modest; and the bringing on a head defeats every trace of the author's new-born false delicacy—the present mode of representation is much better. . . . . .

"As Macbeth, in representation, dies before the audience, it appeared necessary, according to dramatic custom, to give him some conclusive lines, which Mr. *Garrick*, as we have been told, has happily supplied, as nothing could be more suitable, or striking, than to make him mention, with dying breath, his guilt, delusion, the witches, and those horrid visions of future punishment, which must ever appall and torture the last moments of such accumulated crimes."

This eulogium of Gentleman is but one of many contemporary views of alterations of Shakespeare that I shall have occasion to note. Meantime we may not ungraciously tender to Garrick the praise of being among the first to cut away many of the accumulated excrescences on a Shakespearian masterpiece. In view of some of his own atrocities this praise must be the sweeter and the more deserved.

SHAKESPEARE RESTORED: T. CIBBER'S ROMEO AND JULIET

The usually execrated name of Theophilus Cibber is next brought into the story, for a similar service performed for Romeo and Juliet. In one of those temporary lapses from virtue and the regular theatre which his career exemplified, he found himself briefly in the position of manager of the little Theatre in the Haymarket. There on September 11, 1744, he revived this great love-tragedy, "not acted these hundred years," as he said, somewhat inaccurately. Otway's Caius Marius had not been seen for several years, and young Cibber signalised his little brief authority as manager with the credit due to the revival of Shakespeare's play. As a matter of fact, he helps himself to several of Otway's most important ideas, and a good deal of his language. The opening scene, between Capulet and Paris, is found neither in Otway nor in Shakespeare; Paris fears that Romeo is the favourite of Juliet, but the wise father assures him "she knows not what is Love, Unless to love her Father,

Mother, Kinsmen." They hear the sound of the fray outside, and Lady Capulet tries in vain to keep her lord within doors. At the beginning of the next scene, the Prince immediately utters his warning to the heads of the rival houses, "correct" mid-century standards eliminating the "irregular" quarrelling servants. After the customary scene between Montague and Benvolio, we are treated to a long episode "lifted" bodily from Otway, Romeo protesting that his father had formerly selected Juliet for him and is now acting unfairly in forbidding the union. The next scene—after the nurse's babbling of Juliet's age—is also from Otway, Juliet pleading with Lady Capulet (who takes the place of Otway's Metellus) against the marriage with Paris. At the end poor Juliet helps the exposition mightily by remarking

> 'Tis hardly yet within two Hours of Day:
> I'll to my window which o'erhangs the Garden.

This ends Act I; the ball-room scene is omitted—probably because the lovers knew each other already and did not need to be introduced in sight of the audience; perhaps, however, because Cibber at the little Haymarket, could not afford the necessary spectacle.

The second act begins with the balcony scene—entirely from Shakespeare; but in the third scene, a street, with Mercutio and Benvolio, the latter alone is made the recipient of the Queen Mab speech, this speech being apparently a grand solo or aria that could be shifted about at will, as Garrick was soon to show. The play now proceeds in Shakespearian order of word and episode, until we reach Romeo's "banished" scene, in which, oddly enough, several lines are incorporated from the similar "banished" speeches of Valentine, in The Two Gentlemen of Verona. The ingenuity of these adapters in pilfering and fitting together leads one to wonder, as one wonders in the case of rogues, what work they might have accomplished if they had turned the same talent, now misguided, to honest labour.

After the farewell of the lovers—in Juliet's chamber, not

in the garden, as in Otway and Garrick—a long "angry" scene is introduced from Otway for Lady Capulet, again taking the place of Metellus *père*. The scattering scenes of Shakespeare, usually omitted to-day, preceding and following the supposed death of Juliet, are retained by Cibber, as by Garrick. The longest inclusion from Otway comes in the tomb scene. The awakening of Juliet is *verbatim* from Caius Marius, and is, I may say, far less effective than Garrick's working out of the same *motif*. Garrick's scene is practically original, at least in wording and dramatic effect.

The title-page of Cibber's version, published in 1748, says it was "first reviv'd in September, 1744, at the Theatre in the Hay-Market; now acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane." Garrick had, in fact, revived the play during this latter year, but it is not probable that he used Cibber's version; rather is it believed that Cibber made this statement on his title-page in order to sell more copies of his book during the run of the play at Drury Lane. Cibber has to his credit a revival of Cymbeline—Shakespeare's, not Durfey's apparently—in this same season. Some day a life of Theophilus Cibber must be written by a fair-minded critic, to offset much unjust contemporary vilification.

GARRICK'S ROMEO AND JULIET

Somewhat out of chronological order, I shall here take up a discussion of Garrick's revision, first produced at Drury Lane, on November 29, 1748. This long-popular version of Romeo and Juliet is chiefly notable for the great alteration—derived in idea from Otway's Caius Marius and from Cibber—of having Juliet awake in the tomb before the death of Romeo. Garrick's working out of this situation is entirely original and is, as I have said, vastly superior to the others. But other minor changes occur. The character of Lady Montague is omitted, and some of her speeches in Act I are assigned to her lord, especially in the colloquy with Benvolio as to Romeo's whereabouts. There is no

mention of the jilted Rosaline; Romeo, again, as in the case of his Roman equivalent in Otway, and in Cibber, is in love with the heroine when the tragedy begins; his furnace-sighs and euphuistic speeches are inspired by Juliet. This, of course, detracts from the romance of his appearance at the ball of the Capulets, in Act I, though it does to a certain extent make it more rational than in Shakespeare's play; he goes merely to see his beloved. Time is outraged in Scene 4 of Garrick's Act I, "A wood near Verona," by introducing Mercutio in the first scene between Benvolio and Romeo, his presence permitting of the hatching of the plot to go to the ball, and giving opportunity—in the early morning!—to speak the Queen Mab speech trippingly on the tongue. Hence, Benvolio's

> This wind you talk of, blows us from ourselves,
> And we shall come too late,

with Romeo's answer,

> I fear too early: for my mind misgives
> Some consequence, yet hanging in the stars,
> From this night's revels,

is most incongruously introduced in a scene wherein the matin-clock has "but new struck nine."

The Garrick copy retains Juliet's "banished" scene, omitted in many recent acting-versions, as impairing the suspense of Romeo's similar scene following; the audience naturally will sympathise less with him in his agony, if it knows the Nurse is e'en then on her way with comfort and with plans for his meeting Juliet by night. The parting of the lovers at dawn is not in Juliet's chamber, but with the garden-set, the unhappy pair being shown at Juliet's window, not even, I suspect, in a balcony; Juliet, in what we know as the "balcony scene," had also appeared merely "at a window." A pamphlet Letter to Miss Nossiter, Occasioned by her First Appearance on the Stage, as Juliet, 1753, also speaks of her pouring forth Juliet's dulcet strains, sitting at a window. Act V opens with a funeral proces-

HENRY WOODWARD AS MERCUTIO

From a print, 1753

sion in "the inside of a church," with dirges and much solemn pomp. Contemporary critics pointed out the absurdity of this practice, which obtained at both theatres; obviously the spectators could have not the slightest twinge of "fear and pity" for the "corpse" which they knew to be on the point of waking as soon as it was laid in the tomb. But the managers could not forego this opportunity to indulge in the procession so dear to their hearts.

Garrick's great "contribution," as we have said, is his rewriting of the scene in the tomb, to bring about the last love-duo between the lovers, "ere death ended all." This idea, originally Otway's, and, as we have seen, also utilised by Cibber, was used by Kemble and persisted well into the Nineteenth Century. There must be something inherently dramatic in this treatment which was so long popular. I shall yield to the temptation to quote from the scene at some length, employing the edition of 1766:

Romeo. . . . . . here's to my love!—eyes, look your last;
Arms, take your last embrace; and lips, do you
The doors of breath seal with a righteous kiss—
Soft—she breathes, and stirs! [Juliet *wakes*
Jul. Where am I? defend me!
Romeo. She speaks, she lives! and we shall still be bless'd!
My kind propitious stars o'er pay me now
For all my sorrows past—rise, rise, my *Juliet*,
And from this cave of death, this house of horror,
Quick let me snatch thee to thy *Romeo*'s arms,
There breathe a vital spirit in thy lips,
And call thee back to life and love. [*Takes her hand*
Jul. Bless me! how cold it is! who's there?
Rom. Thy husband,
'Tis thy *Romeo, Juliet*; rais'd from despair
To joys unutterable! quit, quit this place,
And let us fly together— [*Brings her from the tomb.*
Jul. Why do you force me so—I'll ne'er consent—
My strength may fail me, but my will's unmov'd,—
I'll not wed *Paris,—Romeo* is my husband.
Rom. Her senses are unsettl'd—Heav'n restore 'em!
Romeo is thy husband; I am that *Romeo*,
Nor all the opposing pow'rs of earth or man,
Shall break our bonds, or tear thee from my heart.

Jul. I know that voice—Its magic sweetness wakes
My tranced soul—I now remember well
Each circumstance—Oh my lord, my husband—
[*Going to embrace him.*
Dost thou avoid me, *Romeo*? let me touch
Thy hand, and taste the cordial of thy lips—
You fright me—speak—Oh let me hear some voice
Besides my own in this drear vault of death,
Or I shall faint—support me—
Rom. Oh I cannot,
I have no strength, but want thy feeble aid,
Cruel poison!
Jul. Poison! what means my lord; thy trembling voice!
Pale lips! and swimming eyes! death's in thy face!
Rom. It is indeed—I struggle with him now—
The transports that I felt to hear thee speak,
And see thy op'ning eyes, stopt for a moment
His impetuous course, and all my mind
Was happiness and thee; but now the poison
Rushes thro' my veins—I've not time to tell—
Fate brought me to this place—to take a last
Last farewel of my love, and with thee die.
Jul. Die? Was the *Friar* false?
Rom. I know not that—
I thought thee dead: distracted at the sight,
(Fatal speed) drank poison, kiss'd thy cold lips,
And found within thy arms a precious grave—
But in that moment—Oh—
Jul. And did I wake for this!
Rom. My powers are blasted,
'Twixt death and love I am torn—I am distracted!
But death's strongest—and must I leave thee, *Juliet*!
Oh cruel, cursed fate: in sight of heav'n!
Jul. Thou rav'st—lean on my breast—
Rom. Fathers have flinty hearts, no tears can melt 'em.
Nature pleads in vain— Children must be wretched.
Jul. Oh my breaking heart—
Rom. She is my wife—our hearts are twin'd together,
Capulet forbear—*Paris*, loose your hold—
Pull not our heart strings thus—they crack—they break—
Oh *Juliet*, *Juliet*! [*Dies.*

This scene also received great praise from Francis Gentleman in 1770: "Romeo's distraction, and her tenderness,

are so excellently wrought up, that we cannot suppose any heart so obdurate as not to be penetrated . . . . . indeed we will venture to affirm, that no play ever received greater advantage from alteration than this tragedy, especially in the last act; bringing Juliet to life before Romeo dies, is undoubtedly a change of infinite merit. The whole dying scene does Mr. Garrick great credit." Who are we Twentieth-Century critics to believe ourselves better able than Garrick to know what his audiences wanted or ought to have wanted?

LAMPE'S PYRAMUS AND THISBE, 1745

After these attempts, sincere I believe, however ill judged, to restore Shakespeare, it is with something approaching disgust that I bring to notice two maltreatments of the poet perpetrated in 1745. They are both to be attributed to Covent Garden, and in less than a month of each other. On January 25th came Pyramus and Thisbe, "a Mock Opera, set to Musick by Mr. Lampe," and on February 15th, Colley Cibber's Papal Tyranny in the Reign of King John.

The first of these efforts in the old mistaken vein is an amplification of Leveridge's Pyramus and Thisbe produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields, in 1716. It employs the same machinery, Semibrief introducing two gentlemen to a rehearsal of the mock tragedy. Many songs are sung, some of them from Leveridge's farce, others new. Leveridge's piece is, on the whole, better than Lampe's. I shall say no more of the thing here, except to remark that this is the third attempt we have seen to abstract the lamentable comedy and tragical mirth from its proper setting,—not counting the droll, published in 1661, and republished in Kirkman's Wits, 1672. It is not the last we shall meet.

COLLEY CIBBER'S VERSION OF KING JOHN, 1745

Colley Cibber's Papal Tyranny in the Reign of King John (1745) bears in the van a letter to the Right Honour-

able Philip Earl of Chesterfield, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, &c., &c., which so amply explains the purpose and the circumstances of the production that I shall reproduce a large part of it here, prefacing the quotation with the statement that Drury Lane with that managerial "meanness" inseparable, apparently, from theatrical business (or other) had, on February 20th, five days before the production of Cibber's play at Covent Garden, brought out Shakespeare's own King John, "not acted for fifty years," and with an extraordinary cast including Garrick (the King), Delane (Falconbridge), Macklin (Pandulph), Mrs. Cibber (Constance) and Miss Macklin (Arthur). No wonder that Cibber was a bit low-spirited, his Covent Garden cast embracing only Quin, Ryan, Cibber himself, Mrs. Pritchard and Miss Jenny Cibber in the same parts, respectively. Miss Bellamy (then a novice) appeared as Blanche.

Though Cibber had been at work on this alteration some years before, as we learn from Fielding's satire in the Historical Register of 1736, it was in all probability once more the perturbed state of the kingdom, with the followers of Charles Edward Stuart just on the point of starting rebellion, that induced Cibber to exhibit the adaptation of this story of ancient British strife. The resemblance, with the French at the doors, was too great to escape notice; and especially the strife as to Catholicism in the time of John greatly resembled the circumstances attending the uprising for the Popish pretender.

But let us return to Cibber's epistle to Chesterfield:

> In all the historical Plays of *Shakespear* there is scarce any Fact that might better have employed his Genius, than the flaming Contest between his insolent *Holiness* and *King John*. This is so remarkable a Passage in our Histories, that it seems surprizing our *Shakespear* should have taken no more Fire at it . . . . . Shall we suppose, that in those Days, almost in the Infancy of the Reformation when *Shakespear* wrote, when the Influence of the Papal Power had a stronger Party left . . . . . that this, I say, might make him cautious of offending? Or shall we go so far for an Excuse, as to conclude that *Shakespear* was himself a Catholic? . . . . .

It was this Coldness then, my Lord, that first incited me to inspirit his *King John* with a Resentment that justly might become an *English* Monarch, and to paint the intoxicated Tyranny of Rome in its proper Colours . . .

In the prologue, "spoke by the Author," Cibber apologises for his work:

> Yet Fame, nor Favour ever deign'd to say
> King John was station'd as a first-rate Play.

Hence any one, I suppose he meant, might, without sacrilege, venture to alter it.

It is impossible to praise Cibber's play very highly; it has more unity than Shakespeare's, if that is a merit, but very little more can be said for it. This unity is secured by cutting away Shakespeare's entire first act, with its unpleasing matter of the washing of the Falconbridge family linen; with this first act goes the character of Queen Elinor, for the entire play, depriving Constance, later, of some effective speeches. Falconbridge's grim humour is also expunged, as interfering, I suppose, with the decorum of tragedy. As the Emperor of Austria is the butt of much of Falconbridge's wit, that character also is eliminated from the *dramatis personæ*. The reader will see how much of Shakespeare's distinctive work has been given up. To "atone," the character of Constance is considerably amplified, and there is much added political matter, involving the invasion of England by the Dauphin (a good analogy to Charles Edward Stuart) and by the Papal Legate Pandulph, all this last doubtless meant to serve as a warning to England in the present crisis.

The first two acts take place at a camp near Angiers, and are concerned with much the same subject-matter as Shakespeare's second and third acts. The chief substance is the breaking of the French King's pledge to support the cause of Arthur, the patched-up marriage between the Dauphin and Blanche, the consternation of Constance at

this outcome, etc. Finally comes the scene of cross-curses between John and Pandulph the Legate. As a result, the recent truce is broken, John wins the fight, and sends Falconbridge to England to plunder the abbeys. Blanche flees to Namur, and Arthur is captured. At this point John drops into Hubert's ear the poison of his hint to do away with Arthur.

The third act is placed in the French court and is concerned in part with Pandulph's efforts to win the Dauphin and Blanche to invade England, by saying that, after the death of Arthur, Lewis, through Blanche, will be heir to the throne of England. Letters from England, describing the civil broils there, lend colour to the hope. The great figure of the act, however, is Constance, who is shown lamenting the loss of Arthur, her speeches in spirit, if not wholly in letter or words, drawn from Shakespeare—including the imaginative, "He talks to me, that never had a son." The second scene is in a chamber in the Castle of "Roan." John, in his passage to England, has stopped to make more explicit his hint to Hubert; Hubert "bites." Follows a lengthened, weakened scene between Hubert and Arthur, with the same result as in Shakespeare. At the close new matter is introduced; word is brought of the arrival of Constance, and Hubert allows her to talk with her son.

The fourth act is at first placed in the Dauphin's camp at St. Edmondsbury, with matter involving the suspicion of Salisbury and Pembroke, in the service of the Dauphin; they fear to resign England to him. Pandulph also suspects that, when in power, he may equal John in heresy. Falconbridge comes to offer truce between Pandulph and John; it is patched up. The scene changes to John's tent, and the centre of interest again shifts to the fortunes of Arthur. Hubert assures John that Arthur lives; Falconbridge tells him that the Barons are enraged at the reported death of the young prince. At this juncture John has decided that you cannot free a slavish people; besides, the

barons are taking away his prerogatives! I do not suspect Cibber of any humorous design in the collocation of these two interesting ideas.

The last act is in substance Shakespearian, including the jumping of Arthur from the walls, with the subsequent scene between Salisbury, Falconbridge and Hubert. There are two very gorgeous processions, quite in keeping with the taste of Covent Garden. In the first, Cardinal Pandulph enters in great state, accompanied by earthly and heavenly powers and principalities; John accompanies in robe and crown; the latter he lays at the feet of the legate, who treads on it, then returns it to the King. John begs for mercy for his people, and is graciously answered. Cibber knew well the effect this episode would have on an English audience in 1745. The second procession is the funeral ceremony of Arthur, "moving toward Swinstead Abbey, to a dead march." Constance is chief-mourner and has the opportunity for a ranting scene that must have been dear to the heart of Mrs. Pritchard, who played the part. I will not trace the action to the death of King John and the final withdrawal of the Dauphin and Blanche from England.

I agree with Cibber that Shakespeare's King John is not "stationed as a first-rate play"; I hope he would now, in 1920, agree with me that his own is not "stationed" even as a second-rate. I grant the unity, if he will grant me the rant of his play. Cibber, in this effort, though not in Richard III, was a very late reversion to the type of alterer that dared to rewrite Shakespeare's lines, retaining the ideas, the words and phrases to a great extent, and yet "blurring" them almost to the point of unrecognisability. Few, if any, were venturing on this "Tatefication" in 1745. New scenes were at that time written in, and others left out or transposed; but Shakespeare—as Shakespeare—was allowed to stand unblemished. As a very late instance of this detestable "blurring" of Shakespeare's poetry, let me submit the following

parallel columns, the matter being from Shakespeare's Act II, Scene 1:

SHAKESPEARE	CIBBER
Philip:	Read in this face thy elder Brother's Feature!
Look here upon thy brother Geffrey's face:—	These Eyes, this Aspect molded out of his!
These eyes, these brows were moulded out of his.	In this fair copy'd Volume is contain'd
This little abstract doth contain that large	The growing Abstract of thy Brother's Virtues.
Which died in Geffrey; and the hand of time	
Shall draw this brief into as huge a volume.	

or, this from the third act:

Constance:	You must! you dare! you shall! I will not so!
Thou may'st, thou shalt, I will not go with thee;	Tell them they've taught my Sorrows to be proud;
I will instruct my sorrows to be proud,	There is a Dignity in suff'ring wrong,
For grief is proud, and makes his owner stoop.	Which mean-mouth'd Perfidy can never reach!
To me and to the state of my great grief	Here, on this humble Earth, build we our Throne;
Let Kings assemble; for my grief's so great	Here shall Calamity in Judgment sit,
That no supporter but the huge firm earth	And call Oppression to her sad Tribunal.
Can hold it up; here I and sorrows sit;	Now let injurious *France* and *England* see,
Here is my throne, bid Kings come bow to it.	How we are rais'd in Majesty above them!
	This is the Throne, to which, or first or last,
	The greatest Kings must bow —*Philip*, I thank thee,
	These are thy Favours!

In general, the language is not so close as this—while most of the "popish" speeches and plots are original with Cibber. Do not forget that all the rough humour of Fal-

conbridge has been eliminated; also the character of Austria. I apologise for devoting so much space to this unimportant production, but ventured to do so in view of the uniqueness of the special kind of effort in that year of grace 1745. Papal Tyranny in the Reign of King John was acted in only two seasons at Covent Garden. The management made amends in the second of these years (1745–46) by reviving two plays of Shakespeare "never acted there," All's Well that Ends Well and Cymbeline, Mrs. Pritchard (later a chief glory of Drury Lane) playing Helena and Imogen. In the same season Dryden and Davenant's Tempest was temporarily shelved, at Drury Lane, in favour of Shakespeare's, "never acted there." Unfortunately Davenant and Dryden's perversion was restored to the repertoire in the following season. Shakespeare's King John—"not acted twelve years"—was seen again at Covent Garden, February 23, 1751.

REVIVALS OF OTHER PLAYS

Revivals were in the air. "Never acted there" distinguishes, in Genest's record, the statement of the performance of Henry V at Drury Lane, on December 16, 1747, and of Much Ado about Nothing (with Garrick and Mrs. Pritchard) on November 14, 1748. Romeo and Juliet (with Barry and Mrs. Cibber) was first produced at the same theatre on November 29th of the same year. Much Ado had fifteen performances this season and was never absent from the repertoire so long as Garrick could play Benedick. Romeo and Juliet was acted nineteen times during the first season, with the incomparable pair of lovers named above.

It will be observed from the above record, that Shakespeare seemed at last to be coming into a reasonable degree of public consideration. The feeling evidently began to grow that it was better to revive him with all his weeds—to use one favourite figure of the time—or with all the dust in which his jewels were dimmed—to use another—than to

suffer him to become the prey of every poetaster who would work his will on him. Nevertheless, James Thomson, author of The Seasons, did not hesitate to enter the list with a rival Coriolanus; he was, however, man enough and critic enough, to leave Shakespeare alone, and write an entirely new play.

THOMSON'S CORIOLANUS, 1749

Thomson's Coriolanus really has no more connection with Shakespeare's than has Dryden's All for Love with Antony and Cleopatra. It is a unified, stately, rhetorical tragedy in blank verse, and was produced at Covent Garden (January 13, 1749) by Quin, as an effort of friendly piety to the memory of its dead author. The scene, throughout, is the Volscian camp, and the leading characters, besides the great Roman general, are Attius Tullius (Aufidius); Galesus, one of the deputies of the Volscian state, attending the camp; Volusius, an expansion of Shakespeare's Lieutenant and Tate's Nigridius, serving the same purpose of inspiring envy in the mind of Tullius (Aufidius); Titus, the messenger sent to Rome to bring about a treaty; Marcus Minutius and Posthumus Cominius, sent by Rome on the first embassy to Coriolanus, begging him to give o'er and promising pardon on his return to Rome; Veturia (not Volumnia as in Shakespeare), the mother of Coriolanus, a part played by Peg Woffington, and Volumnia (not Vergilia as in Shakespeare), the wife, played by George Ann Bellamy. These women have only one scene—that of supplication in the fifth act; otherwise they do not appear in the play. This scene is modelled in form and spirit on Shakespeare—not in language.

The play begins practically with the coming of Coriolanus (exiled from Rome) to the Volscian camp, and progresses through the awakening of the jealousy of Tullius, by the great acclaim of Coriolanus in the Volscian camp, to the scene of supplication just mentioned. The catastrophe is the murder of the Roman by conspirators—not by Tullius.

QUIN AS FALSTAFF
From a mezzotint by McArdell

QUIN AS CORIOLANUS, 1749
From a Contemporary Print

The latter justifies the deed, and Galesus concludes the play with a long harangue on the virtues and faults of Coriolanus.

After its first season, the play was never revived; therefore, since it has so little affiliation with Shakespeare's work, I will dismiss it from the discussion. Curiously enough, the next important Shakespearian alteration I have to consider is Thomas Sheridan's tampering with the same subject; I say Sheridan's, though his complicity is not proved. A compilation from Shakespeare's play and Thomson's was effected on the stage of Covent Garden, December 10, 1754. As once before, in the case of King John, Drury Lane anticipated by producing Shakespeare's Coriolanus, with Mossop as the hero, and Mrs. Pritchard as Volumnia, on November 11th. Sheridan's (?) version entirely omits Shakespeare's first act, except the scene between Veturia and Volumnia (Sheridan preserves Thomson's names for these) with which the play begins. Follows Shakespeare's second act with but slight change. Act II is composed of Shakespeare's third act; Act III is pure Thomson, "not contaminated"—to quote from Genest—"with one line from Shakespeare." It is Thomson's first act with some material from his second. The fourth act—at Rome and among the Volscians successively—is a union of Thomson and Shakespeare. The last act, again, is almost entirely Thomson, Galesus concluding the play as in Thomson. In this version Sheridan (father of Richard Brinsley) acted the hero, Mrs. Woffington and Mrs. Bellamy taking the parts—now much amplified—in which they had appeared in Thomson's play. A better union of Shakespeare and Thomson was used by Kemble during his long consulship in English theatricals.

The Coriolanus that at Drury Lane anticipated by a few weeks the production of Sheridan's at the other house is probably to be found in Bell's Shakespeare, 1773. The editor of this acting version asserts that it is from the Drury Lane prompt-book; if so, it must be the arrangement now in question. Coriolanus was not performed again at

Garrick's theatre, from anything I can find in Genest, until Kemble revived it in 1789. The Bell edition, then, can be referred to no other revival than that of 1754. To it, in view of its brief life on the stage, I need devote but slight comment. It is all refreshingly Shakespeare in matter and in language; no alloy vitiates the offering. The nine scenes of Shakespeare's first act are reduced to two; only the original opening scene, with the bustle of the mob of citizens, the introduction of Menenius, Caius Martius, and the evil conspirators, is allowed to balance the touching domesticity of the Virgilia-Volumnia episode of Shakespeare's third scene, now become Bell's second (and last) of the act. Shakespeare's ninth scene becomes the first of Bell's second act; this, of course, is the part dealing with the bestowal of the name of Coriolanus on the great but somewhat obstinate hero. From this point the play moves forward inevitably and swiftly, as in the original; hardly one of Shakespeare's scenes is entirely deleted. Heroic cuts are made in speeches, and many speeches are wholly gone; but everything that remains is Shakespeare's own. The version seems to me to move as on a rushing tide of action; it is an admirable stage-copy. Yet, as we see, it did not live.

Meantime, I may quote a contemporary comment on the original Sheridan performance and its rival—the genuine Shakespeare at Drury Lane. This gem of dramatic criticism I culled from Letter III of a series of similar theatrical brochures published in 1754:

"The original CORIOLANUS, as played at *Drury-Lane* Theatre, is the most mobbing, huzzaing, shewy, boasting, drumming, trumpeting Tragedy I ever saw:—As exhibited in *Covent-Garden*, it is the divine but nodding Shakespear, put in his Night-Gown by *Messire* Thomson; and hummed to sleep by *Don Torpedo*, infamous for the *Mezentian* art of joining his *Dead* to the *Living :* For which he is most justly damned.

"One Use this *Tara-tantara Belle* Drama may be applied to, is (that as the *London Cuckolds* are politely dismissed

from the Stage) it may be annually performed, to conclude the Triumph of the *Lord-Mayor's* Day, and with more Propriety than *Tamerlane* is on the Anniversary of KING WILLIAM, of which absurd Conduct the Truest Censure is, the Neglect of the Public to see it."

THE SHEEP-SHEARING; OR FLORIZEL AND PERDITA

I must go back to note one of those petty pilferings that are to constitute for the next few pages the chief burden of my song. This is a slight affair called The Sheep-Shearing, or Florizel and Perdita; the author is thought to be M'Namara Morgan, author of Philoclea, produced two months earlier at Covent Garden, where, on March 25, 1754, the trifle we are discussing was brought forth. The Winter's Tale was butchered to make this Shepherd's holiday. The first scene reveals Camillo and Polixenes discussing Florizel's attachment to the pretty shepherdess Perdita, whom the father is willing to have his son seduce, but not marry. There follow, first, a scene in which Florizel utters protestations of love to Perdita, and second, a comic episode in which Autolycus delivers a lengthy tale to Camillo and Polixenes about knowing the King, etc. Now the great flower scene of Shakespeare is given intact, with the rest of the sheep-shearing incident. After Polixenes has thrown off his disguise and threatened dire things, the Shepherd (by the way, the Clown is reduced to a mere nothing) declares himself to be Antigonus, disguised as Alcon, reveals the secret of Perdita's birth, and makes easy the marriage of Florizel and Perdita—nothing could be more conveniently arranged. Leontes and Hermione do not appear; Autolycus has much original stuff added to his part.

Probably this made a good "entertainment" or afterpiece, with song, dance and a pastoral touch. It was revived several times—once or twice at Drury Lane, where Garrick's Winter's Tale might have been expected to hold precedence. The love of Florizel and Perdita is, indeed,

one of the incomparable poems of the world; nothing can kill it, provided Shakespeare's poetry is retained, as it was, in this and in Garrick's version. On March 24, 1761, Covent Garden converted The Sheep-Shearing into a little "opera" for Beard and Miss Brent.

It was at exactly this time that Garrick began the series of onslaughts on the Shakespearian drama that, more than any other, won for him the unenviable censure of contemporary and later criticism. In need of "entertainments" or operatic spectacle, he turned four of Shakespeare's plays into slight performances, only two of which—The Winter's Tale and Catharine and Petruchio—had sufficient merit to live through more than the paltriest existence.

GARRICK: THE FAIRIES, 1755

The first of these was The Fairies, produced at Drury Lane on February 3, 1755. A Midsummer Night's Dream, alas! was never long free from the hand of the depredator, and The Fairies was about due, at the time of its arrival. Leveridge's Pyramus and Thisbe, of 1716, and Lampe's, of 1745, were ready for a successor when The Fairies appeared.

The Fairies, unlike these two farcical operas founded on Shakespeare's tragical mirth, omits all the episodes of the hard-handed men of Athens and the play of Pyramus and Thisbe; it deals only with the fairy scenes and the crossed loves of the quartette of young people for whom first a father's implacable will, and afterwards Oberon's magic flower, create so much trouble and dismay. There being no Bottom the weaver among the *dramatis personæ*, we learn of Titania's infatuation for a "patched fool" only from Puck's narration to Oberon. As we never see the "patched" weakling aforesaid, the episode has no dramatic value. The character of Hippolyta, also, is reduced to the palest of nonentities; she becomes literally a walking—not a talking—lady. The whole thing is really an opera; twenty-seven songs are introduced, including some from

the original play, also Puck's filching of Ariel's "Where the bee sucks, there lurk [*sic*] I," and Oberon's calm appropriation unto himself of "Sigh no more, ladies, sigh no more," from Much Ado about Nothing.

But Dryden, Lansdowne and Waller also contribute lyrics; and Milton as well—two stanzas from L'Allegro. The fact that Signor Curioni sang Lysander, and Signora Passerini Hermia, shows how operatically un-English the whole thing must have been. Let us finish with one or two examples of the feast.

Hermia's rebellion against her father's marriage plan for her is thus "voiced":

> So will I grow, so live, so die, my Lord,
> Ere I will yield my virgin patient (*sic*) up
> Unto his Lordship, to whose unwish'd yoke
> My soul consents not to give sovereignty.
>
> AIR
>
> With mean disguise, let other natures hide,
> And mimick virtue with the paint of art:
> I scorn the cheat, of reason's foolish pride,
> And boast the graceful weakness of my heart, etc.

Is't not pretty? Soon Helena enters.

> *Hermia.* Good speed, fair *Helena*, whither away?
> *Helena.* Call you me fair? That fair again unsay,
> *Demetrius* loves you.
>
> AIR
>
> O Hermia fair, O happy, happy fair,
> Your eyes are load-stars, and your tongue's sweet air;
> More tuneable than lark to shepherd's ear, etc.

Nevertheless, I should not be surprised if The Fairies was rather attractive entertainment in its day. A good deal of Shakespeare's poetry is retained intact. Garrick was no Tate; he at least left in their original purity the Shakespearian verses he used—he merely omitted or put in—but in either case it was solid blocks that went or stayed.

GARRICK: THE WINTER'S TALE, 1756

Two more of these abbreviations were produced together at the same theatre on the evening of January 21, 1756. One was The Winter's Tale, with an extraordinary cast, including Garrick as Leontes, Mrs. Pritchard as Hermione (these two parts reduced to a very few lines each), Mrs. Cibber as Perdita, Holland as Florizel, Yates as Autolicus (*sic*), and Woodward as the Clown; the other was Catharine and Petruchio, derived from The Taming of the Shrew, with Woodward as Petruchio and Kitty Clive as Catharine. Though, from the point of view of fidelity to the original text, it may seem heretical to say so, I confess I should like to have attended that double bill; I envy the Londoners of 1756, who enjoyed that unique privilege. The acting, with such players, must have been incomparable.

Florizel and Perdita is composed, practically, of bits of the last two acts of The Winter's Tale, with much necessary explanatory matter by Garrick. His prologue with its arrogant boast of a

> plan
> To spill no drop of that immortal man,

is rendered incredibly ridiculous by the lopping off of practically three of the five limbs or acts comprised in the play involved. Garrick's play deals with the sheep-shearing episodes of Shakespeare, and all the rest of Shakespeare's work is reduced to a few expositional narrations by Garrick's characters. The entire setting is placed in the "desarts" of Bohemia, though the earlier editions call it Bithynia. The first acting scene—in prose, as is much of Garrick's other original stuff—is between Camillo and a Gentleman, and gives to the former opportunity to relate the chief matters of Shakespeare's missing three acts: the visit of Polixenes to Sicily, Leontes's jealousy, the trial of Hermione, her death, and the exposure of the infant Perdita. New material involves an expected visit of Leontes to the court of Polixenes, in an effort to atone for his former

crimes, and the residence of Paulina in Bohemia, almost since the time of the trial of Hermione. Thus Garrick paved the way for unity of place so dear to the hearts of his contemporaries. At the close of this scene Paulina, who is, of course, hiding Hermione, is delighted to hear of the advent of Leontes. The second scene represents the country by the seaside during a storm. The old shepherd and the clown, after the bit of Shakespeare's play preceding the discovery of the infant Perdita—the only bit from Shakespeare's first three acts admitted by Garrick—come upon Leontes cast up on the shore by the troubled waves. All the characters are now where Garrick and the unities desired them to be, and we can go to the sheep-shearing with free artistic conscience. The main body of the play is that concerned with this country festival. Much of Shakespeare's loveliest poetry is retained. Leontes is in the near background, and to him, after Polixenes's turning on his son, are assigned the consolatory words uttered to Florizel by Shakespeare's Camillo. All the grand discovery of Perdita's parentage and her happy reunion with her father, Garrick, like Shakespeare, entrusted to the narration of eye-witnesses—the gentleman, presumably he who perforce listened in Scene I to Camillo's long story, now has his innings and tells the pleasing new tale to the joyful Paulina. Much of Garrick, it will be seen, is injected in Shakespeare's play, and some of it consists of new stuff for Autolycus, long a favourite part with Eighteenth-Century comedians. The pastoral ends with the statue scene, in which Mrs. Pritchard as Hermione was long and justly famous, and in which her portrait is known to us from Pine's lovely mezzotint.

This work is more of a play and contains more of Shakespeare than does Morgan's Sheep-Shearing, just considered. It held the stage as long as Garrick and Mrs. Pritchard cared to act it, and was frequently revived. Its success, however, was as naught in comparison with that of Catharine and Petruchio, which formed part of the stock repertoire from the day of its introduction almost until the present.

GARRICK: CATHARINE AND PETRUCHIO

Catharine and Petruchio is undoubtedly an excellent farce. It is compact and actable to a degree. All the "introductory" Christopher Sly material is gone; the wooing of Bianca is also left out, this gentle sister being the wife of Hortensio—not Lucentio, who does not appear. The episode of Catharine and the Music-Master and his lute is retained, but the master is not Hortensio. Gremio is also expunged from the list of characters, his humorous account of the wedding being transferred to Biondello. Finally, the old man whom Catharine's tamer compels her to greet as a young blushing virgin, is her own father Baptista, he and Bianca meeting the Petruchio-pair on their way to Baptista's house. So far as I can see, then, Catharine's submissive rebuke to Bianca—the Widow does not appear—is delivered on the broad highway, which from time immemorial has witnessed that it is more blessed to give than to receive. Catharine and Petruchio was one of the three Shakespearian adaptations that had a long, long life on the stage; Tate's Lear and Cibber's Richard III being the others. It deserved its great popularity as an afterpiece, and was driven from the stage only in 1886, when Daly revived The Taming of the Shrew, Induction and all, and with the help of John Drew and Ada Rehan in the chief characters removed it from the realm of farce and restored it to a comedy plane.

GARRICK: THE OPERATIC TEMPEST

The fourth of Garrick's curtailments of Shakespeare was produced on the 11th of February, less than a month after the two last-discussed. This was, as the title-page of the printed copy, published in 1756, states, The Tempest, an Opera, taken from Shakespear. The Songs from Shakespear, Dryden, &c. The Music composed by Mr. Smith. The principal parts were sung (the list does not indicate what parts were entrusted to the actors specified) by Beard, Signora Curioni, Mrs. Vernon, etc. "It is hoped," says the

perpetrator meekly, "that the Reader will excuse the Omission of many Passages of the first Merit, as they stand in the said Play; it being impossible to introduce them in the plan of this Opera."

In general, the opera is arranged according to the scheme of The Fairies. Both compilations were made, no doubt, because of the operatic possibilities of the spirit-creatures in the *dramatis personæ;* just as the pastoral elements of The Winter's Tale attracted. The dialogue of The Tempest, as the dialogue of The Fairies, is almost wholly Shakespeare's, though greatly curtailed. But every few minutes a song is sung; there are thirty-two songs and duets. The Hippolito-Dorinda material is eliminated. Mustacho, Ventoso, Trincalo, Stephano are introduced from Dryden, but there is not much of this, or indeed of Caliban, or of the Antonio-Alonzo plot.

In the first scene, "the stage darkened—represents a cloudy sky, a very rocky coast, and a ship on a tempestuous sea." Ariel comes upon the stage. Then the opera proper (or improper) begins. This is about the sort of thing we get:

ACT I—SCENE II

A part of the island near PROSPERO'S *cell.* Enter *Prospero* and *Miranda.*

MIRANDA

If by your art, (my dearest father) you have
Put the wild waters in this roar, allay them.
O, ! I have suffer'd with those I saw suffer.
Had I been any god of pow'r, I would
Have sunk the sea within the earth, or e'er
It should the goodly ship have swallow'd, and
The freighting souls within her.

AIR

Hark how the winds rush from their caves
Hark how old ocean frets and raves,
From their deep roots the rocks he tears;
Whole deluges lets fly,
That dash against the sky,
And seem to drown the stars.

PROSPERO

. . . . . In fine, they forc'd us
Out to sea, in a rotten unrigg'd boat,
Where they left us to the mercy of the winds.

AIR

In pity, Neptune *smooths the liquid way,*
Obsequious Tritons on the surface play
And sportful dolphins with a nimble glance
To the bright sun their glittering scales advance, &c.

Here in this island we arriv'd, and here
Have I thy schoolmaster, made thee more profit, etc.
. . . . . .
Thou art inclin'd to sleep; 'tis a good dulness,
And give it way; I know thou can'st not chuse.

AIR

MIRANDA

Come, O sleep, my eyelids close
Lull my soul to soft repose.

In Act II, Scene 1, we have an indescribably ludicrous mixture of Shakespeare and Garrick.

MIRANDA

I might call him a thing divine,
Nothing natural I ever saw so noble.

AIR

FERDINAND

What sudden blaze of majesty
What awful innocence of mein,
Is that which I from hence descry?
Like nature's universal queen.

In a few minutes the stately Prospero bursts out in this eminently un-Shakespearian bit:

In tender sighs he silence breaks,
The fair his flame approves,
Consenting blushes warm her cheeks,
She smiles, she yields, she loves.

Ariel (Signora Curioni?) has many songs. There is a terzetto for Trincolo, Stephano, Ventoso; is this the one Theophilus Cibber refers to? The echo duet with Ariel and Ferdinand is retained from Dryden and Davenant.

Of course I need not speculate gravely on the cause of this outbreak of operatic attack on Shakespeare; nor need I discuss seriously the enormity of this 1756 Tempest. He who runs may censure Garrick. I shall content myself with quoting from Theophilus Cibber's Two Dissertations on the Theatres, with an Appendix in Three Parts. The Whole Containing a general View of the Stage, from the Earliest Times, to the Present, London (1756?). Since what he says has so direct a bearing on these four pieces now under review, I quote extensively, without apology:

> The *Winter's Tale,* of Shakespear, tho' one of his most irregular Pieces, abounds with beautiful Strokes, and touching Circumstances; —the very title (*A Winter's Tale*) seems fix'd on by the Author, as an Apology for, and a bespeaking of, a loose Plan, regardless of Rule, as to Time or Place. . . .
>
> In the Alteration, many of the most interesting Circumstances, the most affecting Passages, and the finest Strokes in writing, which mark the Characters most strongly, and are most likely to move the Heart, are entirely omitted, such as the Jealousy of *Leontes,* the Trial of *Hermione,* &c. What remains is so unconnected,—is such a Mixture of piecemeal, motley Patchwork, that *The Winter's Tale,* of *Shakespear,* thus lop'd, hack'd, and dock'd, appears without Head or Tail. . . .
>
> However, his Houses were crowded; for what he designs to give must be receiv'd.—It is *Hobson's* Choice with the Town. . . . *The Midsummer's Night's Dream* has been minc'd and fricaseed into an undigested and unconnected Thing, call'd, *The Fairies :—The Winter's Tale* mammoc'd into a Droll; *The Taming of the Shrew,* made a Farce of;—and, *The Tempest,* castrated into an Opera. Oh! what an agreeable Lullaby might it have prov'd to our Beaus and Belles, to have heard *Caliban, Sycorax,* and one of the Devils trilling of Trios. . . . . .
>
> In the two last Bellman-like nonsensical Lines, of his absurd Prologue to the *Winter's Tale,*—he tells you,—
>
> That tis his joy, his Wish, his only Plan,
> To lose no Drop of that immortal Man!

Why truly, in the aforemention'd Pieces, he does bottle him up with a Vengeance!—he throws away all the spirited Part of him, all that bears the highest Flavour;—then, to some of the Dregs, adds a little flat Stuff of his own, and modestly palms it off on his Customers —as Wines of the first Growth; a pleasant Beverage to offer to Gentlemen, by way of *Bonne Bouche.*

Of course, not every critic was so acrid. The Tuner, Letter the Fifth, 1755, thus commends the Fairies: "*The Fairies,* an Opera perform'd at *Drury-Lane,* is a laudable attempt to encourage native musical Productions. I wish the Choice had been of Words in general more *Lyric,* that is more bending and pliant to Harmony. How far the Composer deserves, or otherwise, I leave to *Connoiseurs* in Music to determine." We who sit self-righteously enjoying Verdi's Falstaff or Otello should not be too hard on Garrick, or the contemporary critics who did not wholly condemn him.

Readers of the Garrick correspondence, as edited by Boaden, will find the great Warburton himself writing to Garrick as to one of these alterations, just discussed: "As you know me to be less an idolizer of Shakspeere than yourself, you will less suspect me of compliment when I tell you, that besides your giving an elegant form to a monstrous composition, you have in your additions written up to [!] the best scenes in this play, so that you will easily imagine I read the 'Reformed Winter's Tale' with great pleasure. You have greatly improved a fine prologue, and have done what we preachers are so commonly thought unable to do—*mend ourselves while we mend others* [the italics are Warburton's]." This and similar remarks by famed Shakespearian scholars of the Eighteenth Century cause one to wonder whether their entire attitude of worship toward Shakespeare was not the veriest cant.

GARRICK: ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, 1759

But Garrick was capable of doing better things. On October 20, 1757, he again, perhaps repenting the opera, produced "for the first time in fourteen years" (literally

for the first time in nearly twelve years) Shakespeare's original Tempest, with Mossop as Prospero and Miss Pritchard as Miranda. It had seventeen performances; evidently theatre-goers liked all kinds of Tempests. A year later, January 3, 1759, he set forth, for the first time, so far as I can see, since the Restoration, Antony and Cleopatra, he playing the hero to Mrs. Yates's serpent of old Nile. The printed copy shows no unnecessary changes or alterations or interpolations; the text is all Shakespeare's. The number of characters is reduced, and speeches are transferred to persons other than those to whom Shakespeare allotted them; notably Enobarbus's description of Cleopatra on the Cydnus is given to Thyreus, a freedman of Cæsar. But stage editors within our recollection have done similar things, and we can say in general that Garrick's version—made by Capel—is not injudicious or irreverent. It ran six nights, but in spite of Garrick's managerial expenditure on scenery and costumes it was soon shelved. The public preferred Dryden's All for Love, as they soon showed they preferred Tate's Lear to Shakespeare's. It is hard for a generation as for an individual to get off its own shadow.

Before dismissing Antony and Cleopatra from the history of Garrick's time, we must call attention to a tragedy on the subject included in the collected works of Henry Brooke, 1778. The piece was never acted, but it is interesting to note that the author introduces three new characters—Ptolemy, Cleopatra's brother, and her two children by Antony. According to Genest "one third, or perhaps one half of this play is taken from Shakespeare."

HAWKINS'S CYMBELINE, 1759

In the year of Garrick's revival of Antony and Cleopatra, on February 15th, to be exact, Hawkins's version of Cymbeline was brought out at Covent Garden. William Hawkins, M.A., was "Late Fellow of Pembroke College, and Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford," as

the title-page to his printed version of Cymbeline (1759) informs us. His dedication of the work to the Right Honourable the Countess of Litchfield shows that his play "met with numerous and unprecedented difficulties and discouragements in the theatre," which he later designates as "mere appearances, or accidental and unlucky circumstances." Evidently neither managers nor players assisted him greatly.

As to his purpose in revising Shakespeare's play he says condescendingly, from his professorial chair in groves of Academe, that there is "something so pleasingly romantic, and likewise truly *British* in the subject of it, that I flatter myself, an attempt to reduce it as near as possible, to the regular standard of the *drama*, will be favourably received by all, who are admirers of *novelty*, when *propriety* is its foundation. I have accordingly endeavoured to reconstruct this Tragedy almost upon the plan of Aristotle himself, in respect of *Unity of Time ;* with so thorough a veneration however for the great *Father* of the *English* Stage, that, even while I have presumed [modest man !] to regulate and modernize his design, I have thought it an honour to tread in his steps [again I say, modest Hawkins, M.A. !], and to imitate his stile with the humility and reverence of a *Son*. With this view, I have retained in many places the very language of the original author [think of it !], and in *all* others endeavoured to supply it with a diction similar thereunto [and think of that !]."

This performance of Hawkins's was nearly the last of its kind—it belonged to the age of Betterton and Tate; whatever Garrick did, he was guiltless of blighting Shakespeare's verses. Hawkins's Cymbeline cuts many of Shakespeare's earlier scenes and characters and unifies the whole action to two places—a Royal Castle and "near a Forest in Wales." He has it that Imogen's stepdame is dead and that the King has adopted Cloten. The name Pisanio is given to Iachimo, called an Italian "spark," and poor Pisanio is forced to be content with the name of

Philario. At the beginning of the play, the Roman legions, under Lucius, are on British soil. Will Cymbeline pay tribute? No! Lucius goes off with threats. Meantime, Cloten suborns Pisanio (Iachimo) to deceive Posthumus and fill his ear with stories of Imogen's infidelity. Philario (Shakespeare's Pisanio) catches the two above in deep confabulation. He has a letter from Posthumus calling for Imogen's death; he cynically thinks she may be untrue —she's young and fair. This blight on the character Hawkins adopted from Durfey's long-forgotten Injured Princess. In the next scene Philario tells Imogen of Posthumus's being at Milford Haven. She gives—or is given—a part of Shakespeare's "O for a horse with wings" speech, and is persuaded by Philario to don boy's clothes and flee the castle.

The reader will see how much more like Durfey's management of the plot than Shakespeare's all this is. The second act opens with a scene at the Castle, after the discovery of the flight of Imogen. Some one has seen Philario and a youth going from court. "It must be she—follow, Cloten!" The rest of the act is in and about the cave. Belarius, Palador and Cadwal are permitted to speak some of Shakespeare's language. In the third scene Philario shows Imogen Posthumus's letter urging him to kill her. She is in consternation—then ready. They decide to wait and tell Posthumus she is dead. Philario is still skeptical as to her virtue. The last scene of the act brings them to the cave, where the boys and Imogen are mutually attracted.

Much of the third act, whatever one may think of the rest, really has merit; Shakespeare is allowed to speak frequently with his own voice. Philario enters from the cave, decided to put Imogen to the test. The drink she had from him in the preceding act will "lock her senses"; he will assure her it is poison, and, in sight of death, she will probably confess the truth. There are at first some pretty Shakespearian words and business involving Belarius

and the boys, who finally go out. Philario then begins with Imogen on the subject of her fidelity (or lack of it), calmly appropriating from Shakespeare Posthumus's words:

> There is no motion
> That tends to vice in man, but I affirm
> It is the woman's part; be't lying, note it,
> The woman's flattering, yours; deceiving yours,
> Lust and rank thoughts, yours; revenges, yours, etc.

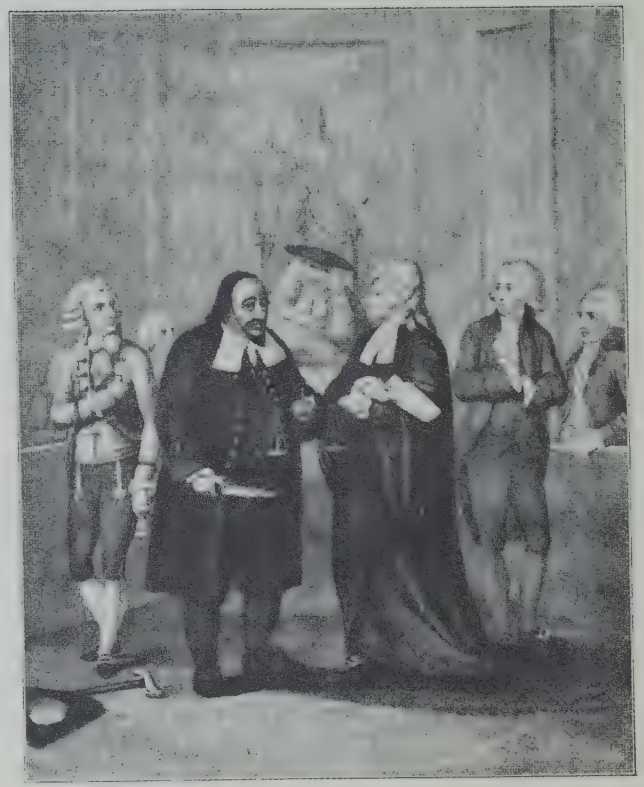
He tells Imogen she has drunk poison—she is glad. He now believes her innocent. She enters the cave, and he departs. Cloten and Palador now enter, Palador kills Cloten, and soon we have, in the cave, the scene of the dirge for Imogen, with much of Shakespeare's loveliest poetry retained, including the incomparable

> With fairest flowers,
> While summer lasts, and I live here, Fidele,
> I will adorn [*sic*] thy grave, etc.

The dirge was set to music by Arne.

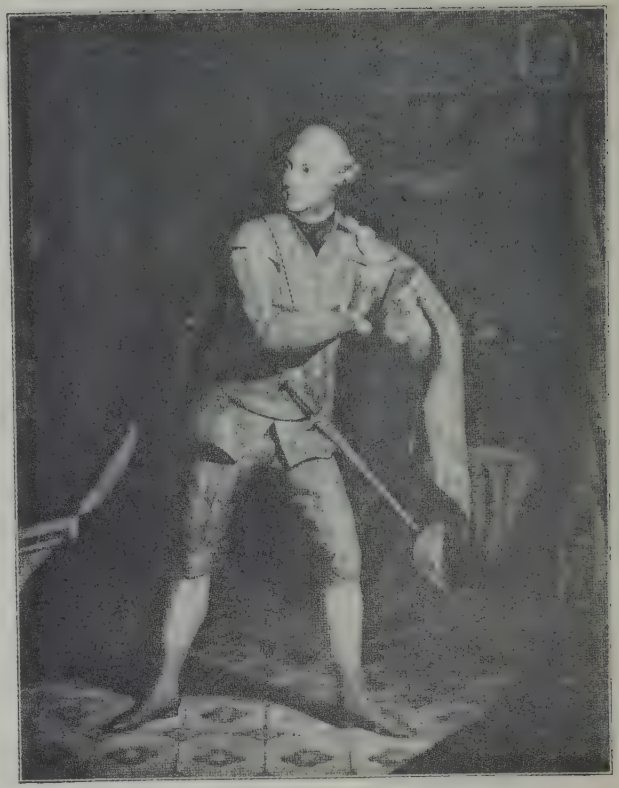
I will not go through the rest in detail. The entire fourth act is the scene of battle. Palador kills Pisanio (Iachimo), who confesses, before death, the injury he has done Imogen, and surrenders a letter he had from Cloten, saying that he bribed a waiting-woman to give access to Imogen's chamber; he also says that Cloten has been in the pay of Rome, and false to Britain. Posthumus, who has previously saved the life of Cymbeline, enters and takes the note from Palador. The last scene is at the Cave, and brings the usual happy ending.

It will be seen that Hawkins carried out his threat in regard to putting the unities into Shakespeare's play; his changes of characterisation and motivation, whether original or derived from Durfey, are indefensible. Posthumus is reduced considerably and Pisanio (Iachimo) is detestably cheapened as a villain. Philario has no trace of Shakespeare's rugged, faithful Pisanio. Palador is the best male



MACKLIN AND MRS. POPE AS SHYLOCK AND PORTIA

From a Stipple Engraving by Nutter after a Painting by Boyne



WILLIAM SMITH AS IACHIMO IN CYMBELINE

From a Mezzotint after a Painting by Lawranson

part; it was played by Smith, famous as Henry V and Hotspur—the original Charles Surface of 1777. The play was never revived after its first season; I have no idea that the Cymbeline played at Covent Garden in 1767–68 was this thing.

GARRICK'S CYMBELINE, 1761

I imagine this because on November 28, 1761, Garrick revived the original play with so little alteration that I do not hesitate to pronounce it, as printed the following year, the most accurate of Eighteenth-Century acting versions. Changes there are in the text, but nothing worth quarrelling about; scenes are transposed or omitted, but the adapter warns of this in the preface: "The admirers of *Shakespear* must not take it ill that there are some Scenes, and consequently many fine Passages omitted in this Edition of Cymbeline. It was impossible to retain more of the Play and bring it within the Compass of a Night's Entertainment. The chief Alterations are in the Division of the Acts, in the Shortning [*sic*] many parts of the Original, and some Scenes. As the Play has met with so favourable a Reception from the Publick, it is hop'd that the Alterations have not been made with great Impropriety." One important change is the assigning to Pisanio of the part of the First Lord in the colloquy at the beginning of Act I. I believe it would tire the reader if I were to indicate exactly the changes Garrick made in the arrangement of scenes; I refrain from doing so, with the request that it be remembered he re-wrote or altered very little. Certainly there was no change in spirit. Curiously enough, however, the lovely scene of the burial of Imogen is sadly curtailed. All that is left of Arviragus's poetical speech—one of the most poetical in Shakespeare—is

> With fairest Flowers,
> Whilst Summer lasts, and I live here, Fidele,
> I'll sweeten thy sad Grave.

And the dirge is transmuted into this:

> Fear no more the Heat o' the Sun,
> Nor the furious Winter's Blast;
> Thou thy worldly Task hast done,
> And the Dream of Life is past.
> Monarchs, sages, Peasants must
> Follow thee and come to Dust.

No more of the dirge is printed. The last act is greatly curtailed, Posthumus's dream being omitted.

This was the last really important new Shakespearian production on Garrick's stage, during his lifetime. Posthumus became one of his very most famous parts, and he never omitted it thereafter from his repertoire; Holland also acquired great reputation as Iachimo. The first Imogen—Miss Bride—was an incompetent amateur, but before long distinguished actresses were assuming the part.

Let us listen to the words of a contemporary critic. "The plot of this play has too strong a taint of romance, and the absolute annihilation of unities is rather offensive," writes the interesting Francis Gentleman, in the Dramatic Censor; "notwithstanding Mr. Garrick's pains, there are absurdities of a very gross nature. We remember to have seen an alteration of this play by one Mr. Hawkins, played at York, and think it has considerable merit; however, we view Shakespeare between these two gentlemen as a stately tree, abounding with disproportionate superfluities; the former has been so very tender of pruning, that a number of luxuriances remain; and the latter admired the vegetation of his own brain so much, that he has not only cut the noble plant into the stiffness of an yew hedge, but decked it like a may-pole, with poetical garlands, which prove rather gaudy than useful ornaments. Mr. Garrick's is, no doubt, best calculated for action, but Mr. Hawkins's will stand a chance of pleasing every fanciful reader better, because he has in many places harmonized the expression, and rendered the obscure passages more intelligible; how-

ever, we wish he had retained more of the original, and Mr. Garrick less."

Gentleman was, perhaps, in no position to speak of another adaptation of Cymbeline to which later commentators have access. In the same works of Henry Brooke (1778) just noted, is included a play of remote Shakespearian affiliation, yet undoubtedly suggested by Cymbeline and in part indebted to it. It is very different from Shakespeare's treatment of the same subject, chiefly in its amplification of the character of Posthumus and its throwing into the background the character of Imogen, both of whose young brothers, indeed, disappear from the story. With them go the beautiful cave scenes. The play was never acted, and may be dismissed with the slightest possible reference. The plot is greatly changed from Shakespeare's, and also the names of many characters.

Perhaps one may regretfully continue the history, in this place, of the melancholy group of plays "never acted," by calling attention to King Richard the Second—"A Tragedy, alter'd from Shakespeare, and the Stile imitated by James Goodhall, Manchester, 1772." This we may dismiss with the crushing comment of Genest—"a very bad alteration of Shakespeare's play." Like Brooke's Antony and Cleopatra and his Cymbeline, it has no place in an account of Shakespeare on the stage.

THE STUDENTS (LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST)

The reader may be wondering about two rather pallid early comedies of Shakespeare hitherto unmentioned in the record. Nearly all of the plays were presented in some guise or disguise during the hundred years from the accession of Charles II to the two performances of Cymbeline just discussed; Love's Labour's Lost and The Two Gentlemen of Verona have hitherto escaped. It is now their turn to be drawn along the wires of adaptation.

The Students, "a comedy altered from Shakespeare's Love's Labour's Lost and adapted to the Stage," was pub-

lished in 1762, but probably never acted. It is among the worst of all these adaptations we have been bewailing. There is much amplification of the Armado-Costard-Jaquenetta *motif;* Biron also, for some inexplicable reason, puts on the coat of Costard, and carries letters to the ladies, purposely omitting and slighting Rosaline. There are some amusing scenes of low comedy, but as a whole the composition is detestable. Since it never reached the stage, I can dismiss it here with bare mention. Another production of the time, which was performed—Falstaff's Wedding, by Kenrick—employing some of Shakespeare's characters, Falstaff, Shallow, Bardolph, Quickly, etc.—begins with the crushing of the crew on the day of the coronation of Henry V, and employs much romantic material about the conspiracy of Scroop and Cambridge as well as the loves of Elinor, sister of Poins, with Falstaff heroically saving the King's life and being restored to royal favour. When finally the play was produced, in 1766—it was printed in 1760—this romantic stuff was omitted and new comic scenes were written in for Pistol, Nym, etc. I do not see that I am called on to discuss the piece here, since, after all, the scenes and language, though involving characters found in Shakespeare's plays, are not in the least derived from Shakespeare.

THE TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA, 1762

But what of The Two Gentlemen of Verona? Victor, the chronicler of the stage and its doings, adapted the play, and had it produced at Drury Lane on December 22, 1762. His Advertisement to the printed copy is more fearsome in sound than is warranted by a study of his adaptation. The preamble, as usual, states the author's aim to be the removal of "the rankest of those weeds" in which "this comedy abounds." The other part of his design was to give greater uniformity to the scenery. "As to the two additional scenes of Launce and Speed in the last act," he leaves them to "the candid judges of dramatic composition."

There is a very great deal of shifting of Shakespeare's order in the first two acts, all to gain the desired unity. For instance, Proteus enters in the second scene, reading Julia's letter, though the scene of Julia's tearing his letter, etc., does not come till later. There is new matter for Speed. In the parts immediately following, in Julia's chamber, three scenes of Shakespeare are violently run together—her letter scene with Lucetta, her parting with Proteus (Shakespeare's Act II, Scene 2) and her subsequent resolve to follow him to Milan (Shakespeare's Act II, Scene 7). This, of course, permits all the events at Milan to be played consecutively, without further return to Verona. No doubt unity of place must be purchased at any sacrifice of meaning or sense in the situation. In Act II, now at Milan, there is an extra trial for Silvia, in which, to protect herself from the love of Thurio, she throws herself on the love and protection of Valentine. The famous "bit" of Launce with the dog and Speed is transferred to Milan; but here it has no sense, since he has been a long time from Verona. Acts III and IV are practically Shakespeare intact, except that there is an added scene for Eglamour and Silvia at the Abbey. The fifth act involves the matter of the flight to the forest, the episodes of the brigands, etc. This is enlivened by the two new scenes for Launce spoken of in Victor's advertisement. In the first Launce enters the forest, followed by Crab, and indulges in a long soliloquy expressing his fright. "We are lost and undone! What will become of us? What could my master mean by sending me into this frightful forest," etc. Enter three Outlaws, who present their guns at Launce, and drag him out. The second of these new scenes begins after the Duke has given his consent to Valentine's marrying Silvia. Speed rushes in, claps on a disguise, and tells them all to prepare for sport. Brigands drag in Launce and his dog; they threaten to kill him. They offer to let him and the seemingly unmoved dog draw lots to see which shall die. Launce says he cannot live without his dog. All laugh, he recognises them, and happiness crowns the event.

TWO VERSIONS OF A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM

It was not for long that A Midsummer Night's Dream could be permitted to slumber between the covers of a book. Garrick set out in September, 1763, for the Continent; he did not reappear on the stage of Drury Lane for two years. He left the management in charge of George Colman, the elder, with strong advice to lay stress on musical and spectacular productions. A Midsummer Night's Dream was produced as an opera on November 23rd, and enjoyed exactly one performance, a record of the time asserting that the audience were all asleep as soundly as some of the characters on the stage. This is Shakespeare's play, in five acts, turned into an opera, with thirty-three songs. The dialogue is curtailed, and much of the mock-play is omitted. Colman drew a kind of victory from defeat, and three nights later brought out A Fairy Tale, as an afterpiece, employing, no doubt, whatever scenes and costumes the management had been at the expense to produce. This Fairy Tale, unlike The Fairies, of 1755, employed the episodes of the hard-handed men, including the tragedy of Pyramus and Thisbe, and also the Oberon-Titania-Puck material; the quartette of lovers and Theseus and Hippolyta are omitted. In 1755 these characters were retained, and the hard-handed men were omitted. Variety at least was subserved in these successive arrangements, whatever one may say of reverence for Shakespeare. The failure of the Midsummer Night's Dream galled Garrick, as his correspondence shows, and Colman always resented the imputation of having had a hand in the production; at best, he says, he was but godfather (which I take to mean stage-manager) to it. A Fairy Tale had only a brief, uneventful career. When managers thus could fall out over the failure of one of these perversions of Shakespeare, one could suspect that the end of the day of such atrocities was in sight. And so it proved; there are but few more to record for many a long day. The upward movement was indicated by Garrick's Cymbeline; the efforts I am

about to speak of indicated a desire to restore, rather than to take away. I am referring, of course, to the attempts of Garrick and of Colman to put back Shakespeare into Tate's King Lear.

GARRICK'S KING LEAR

On October 28, 1756—the year of his versions of The Winter's Tale, The Taming of the Shrew, and The Tempest as an opera—Garrick played King Lear with restorations from Shakespeare. The version used was not printed at the time, but was probably very like that included in Bell's Shakespeare, 1773; at least the introductory note in that edition would seem to assure us of this fact. "We think the following edition," it says, "as performed at the theatre in Drury Lane, by judiciously blending Tate and Shakespear, is made more nervous than that of the Laureat; and much more agreeable than Mr. Colman's late alteration."

Perhaps we could best describe this restoration by saying that it is as good as a false start allowed it to be. Garrick (if it was he, and it probably was) decided to retain most of the love affair between Cordelia and Edgar, and the "happy" ending, with Lear and his good daughter again on the throne. The Fool is still omitted. Within the limitations imposed by this unfortunate retention or deletion, as the case may be, a great deal of Shakespeare's poetry has been substituted for Tate's blurred emendations. The result is precisely as if one looked again through recently polished windows, after for a long time having viewed the scene through very dirty glass. And yet it must be admitted that to Tate and his contemporaries as well as to the great majority of Eighteenth-Century critics the situation was exactly reversed; Shakespeare was the muddy medium, Tate the clarifier and polisher.

In the Bell (and presumably Garrick) version, the chief restorations of Shakespeare's text occur in the earlier acts. Edmund's soliloquy, a mutilation of which opens Tate's play, is put back, in its original form, to its proper place at the beginning of Scene 3, and Garrick's opening scene is

Shakespeare's, with the addition of three speeches from Tate, as well as the first interview between Cordelia and Edgar. The great episode of the division of the kingdom once more shines in Shakespeare's language, except for changes necessitated by the omission of the King of France, an omission in turn caused by Edgar's love for Cordelia; fortunately, however, we are spared the mawkish scene between these last two, which Tate wrote in after the exit of the angry Lear and his court. There is very little more of Tate in this act or the next, except that Edgar's soliloquy perforce retains the lines about Cordelia. In Act III, the scene between Kent and the Gentleman is "cut," and, as the Fool's part is gone, Kent comes on the heath with Lear, necessarily bringing with him a few speeches from Tate; otherwise the glorious scene is once again all Shakespeare. After this magnificent victory for the purists, it is with a shock that we once more find, in the very next stage of the drama, all that dreadful stuff concerning Cordelia's plea to Gloster, Edmund's sudden passion for her, his sending the two ruffians after her, and her rescue by Edgar in the storm on the heath—the episode represented in the well-known mezzotint of Mrs. Cibber.

The last two acts of the version under consideration go back to Tate, with very little of Shakespeare. The only genuine bit is Shakespeare's Act IV, Scene 6, involving the fall of Gloster "from the cliff" (retained here, but omitted by Kemble), the entry of Lear "drest madly with flowers," etc. Even the long rant of Cordelia, at the close of the scene of recognition between Cordelia and Lear, is retained:

> **Oh! for an arm**
> **Like the fierce thunderer's, when the earth-born sons**
> **Storm'd Heaven, to fight this injur'd father's battle!**
> **That I could shift my sex, and dye me deep**
> **In his opposer's blood, etc.**

Poor Garrick! His Shakespearianism, like a broken purpose, wasted in air, after the third act of his play, but up to that climactic point his restoration included large masses

MRS. CIBBER AS CORDELIA
From a Mezzotint after a painting by Van Bleck

GARRICK AS KING LEAR
From a Mezzotint by McArdell after a painting by Wilson, 1761

of genuine poetry from the original. I end, as I began, by saying that the version is as good as it possibly could be with the false start of retaining the Cordelia-Edgar theme and the "happy" ending.

COLMAN'S KING LEAR

On February 20, 1768, George Colman the Elder, then concerned in the management of Covent Garden, put on the stage an alteration of King Lear freed very considerably from the Tatefication under which it had so long suffered. The love of Cordelia and Edgar was omitted, thus bringing about the preservation of what Francis Gentleman calls "that unjustifiable, cynical roughness, which Shakespeare has stamped upon Cordelia, in the barren, churlish answer she gives her father; this Tate has considerably softened by making her attachment to Edgar, the cause of such reply." Colman also omits the Fool, and he retains Tate's happy catastrophe.

Colman, in his advertisement to the play, says:

> Now this very expedient of a *love* betwixt Edgar and Cordelia, on which Tate felicitates himself, seemed to me to be one of the capital objections to his alteration—the distress of the story is so far from being heightened by it (as he asserts) that it has diffused a languor over all the scenes of the play from which Lear is absent, and the embraces of Cordelia and the ragged Edgar would have appeared too ridiculous for representation, had they not been mixed and incorporated with some of the finest scenes of Shakespeare.
>
> . . . To reconcile the Catastrophe of Tate to the original story was the first grand object which I proposed in this alteration. . . . if every Director of the Theatre will endeavour to do a little, the Stage will every day be improved, and become more worthy attention and encouragement. Romeo, Cymbeline, Every Man in his Humour, have long been refined from the dross that hindered them from being current with the Public; and I have now endeavoured to purge the Tragedy of Lear of the alloy of Tate, which has so long been suffered to debase it. The utter improbability of Gloster's imagining, though blind, that he had leaped down Dover Cliff, has been justly censured by Dr. Warton; and in the representation, it is still more liable to objection than in print; I have therefore without scruple omitted it.

I had once some idea of retaining *the Fool,* but after the most serious consideration I was convinced that such a character in a Tragedy would not be endured on the modern stage.

Some of Colman's criticism assuredly reveals a new conscience in matters Shakespearian. Minor restorations or changes in his version are these. The scene in Act I, between Goneril and Regan, after the division of the kingdom, a scene which Tate omitted, as revealing the characters before their self-revelation in Act II, Colman restores. Tate's hateful scene in the grotto between Regan and Edmund, with all matter leading thereto, Colman omits; he restores the scene, in Act IV, between Kent and the Gentleman, and that between Cordelia and the Physician. Almost all of Tate's additions in the scene following the duel between Edmund and Edgar are rejected. In general, wherever possible Colman restores, as Garrick had done in 1756, Shakespeare's language for Tate's.

His adaptation was a failure; the public preferred Tate's version, especially the love-story of Edgar and Cordelia.

Again, contemporary criticism enables us to get the contemporary point of view. The Theatrical Register; or a Complete List of every Performance at the Different Theatres, for the Year, 1769, has some very entertaining Shakespearian dramatic criticism. Of Richard III we are told, "in its original state, it was almost unfit for representation . . . *Cibber* showed great judgment in this work, and has greatly improved it." Of Catharine and Petruchio: "This is only an alteration of *Shakespeare's Taming of the Shrew;* but the alterations have rendered this piece much more perfect and regular than it was originally." Of Romeo and Juliet: "Several alterations have been made in this piece: the most material, and indeed the only good one, was done by Mr. *Garrick,* who, from his great knowledge in dramatic propriety . . . . has rendered this inimitable tragedy more uniform, and worked up the catastrophe to a greater degree of distress than it held in the original."

In light of this criticism, we shall hardly be surprised to

find the kindly critic damning Colman's Lear with faint praise: "Mr. *Colman*, one of the patentees of Covent Garden Theatre, has lately undertaken an alteration of this play from *Tate;* which alteration is, however, only represented at that theatre. He has judiciously availed himself of some of the errors of *Tate*, but having heightened the distress of the catastrophe, we doubt whether humanity will condescend to give him her voice in opposition to *Tate*."

A two-volume publication of the year 1772, whose full title is nearly the longest I know of, but which I will here call merely The Theatrical Review, or the New Companion to the Playhouse, is far more explicit. "We have," it asserts, "only to observe here, that Mr. *Colman* has made several very judicious alterations, at the same time that we think his having restored the original distressed catastrophe, is a circumstance not greatly in favour of humanity or delicacy of feeling, since it is now, rather too shocking to be borne; and the rejecting of the Episode of the loves of *Edgar* and *Cordelia*, so happily conceived by *Tate*, has, beyond all doubt, greatly weakened the Piece, both in the perusal and representation: However, with respect to this particular, we only speak from our own feelings, being aware, that though we differ from the judgment of Mr. *Colman*, it is equally probable, that others may subscribe to it."

Both this account of Colman's King Lear, and that just quoted from the Theatrical Register, seem to state that the original tragic ending was restored; I do not understand this, since the printed copy, and the advertisement, prove the contrary. Was the original ending of Shakespeare tried and abandoned?

THE WINTER'S TALE RESTORED

Another act of restitution was soon to be made at Covent Garden. Though, on March 24, 1761, it performed Florizel and Perdita as an opera, on April 24, 1771, it pro-

duced A Winter's Tale, "not acted thirty years," and "as originally written by Shakespeare." This version is reprinted in Bell's edition, 1773, and adheres rather closely to the original, though it leaves out the scene in Act V between Autolycus, the Shepherd and the Clown, a scene really necessary for an understanding of the events leading up to the catastrophe. After being acted this season, this version was replaced in the next year, and the year following, by Garrick's three-act version, so long popular at Drury Lane. Evidently no copyright law interfered.

But two more notable alterations remain to be discussed; with them we take leave of a century-long reign of violations of Shakespeare, extending from the beginning of the age of Betterton, to the end of the age of Garrick. Nothing like this ever happened again. The two new attacks on Shakespeare were Cumberland's version of Timon of Athens, produced on December 4, 1771, at Drury Lane, and Garrick's famous or infamous and to us very mysterious version of Hamlet, produced on December 18, 1772.

CUMBERLAND'S TIMON OF ATHENS

Cumberland's play was produced after considerable acrimonious correspondence between the author and Garrick. The latter feared that the public might object to alteration in the "simplicity" of Shakespeare's design; Cumberland fairly radiated back his delight at this sudden access of delicate consideration on Garrick's part. At last the piece was brought out—and failed, as such things always had failed.

Cumberland, like Shadwell nearly a hundred years before, felt the need of feminine interest in a play that was to succeed before an Anglo-Saxon audience, and, instead of Shadwell's gently loving and self-sacrificing Evandra, introduced Evanthe, daughter of Timon, thereby, it was felt, at once robbing the chief character of any sympathy in his distresses; what sympathy was deserved by a father who

would thus, regardless of his daughter's future, squander his fortune so recklessly? Cumberland differs, however, from Shadwell, in that he uses Shakespeare's language, word for word, wherever he can; of course, the exigencies of his plot forbid his doing this very frequently.

The love interests of Evanthe seem to overshadow even the extravagances of her father. Lucullus and Lucius are turned into fopling suitors of Evanthe, but Alcibiades is her beloved, and loves her. In the second act Lucius woos her to no avail; then Lucullus enters, and, after Evanthe's departure from the room, a genuine Eighteenth-Century scene of recrimination follows between the two admirers of the gentle maiden. Alcibiades, appearing, reviles them for being courtiers, not soldiers. They flee before his sermon, leaving the stage to Alcibiades and Evanthe for a love-scene.

Timon's affairs progress as in Shakespeare's play. The first scene of the first act is practically Shakespeare's, with considerable curtailing of the speeches of the Painter and the Poet, and also of Apemantus. The Lucilius scene is omitted, and the episode of Ventidius in the later banquet scene. Act II shows a senator sending Caphis for the money Timon owes him. Later, Flavius enters with many bills in his hand. The servants of the creditors present themselves as in Shakespeare. The scene with Apemantus and the Fool is omitted, but that between Timon and Flavius is about as in Shakespeare, word for word. The rest of the act is like Shakespeare's, with the sending of Flavius, Servilius, etc., to Lucullus, Lucius and the others with requests for a loan. The third act shows, as in Shakespeare, and again in his language, the results of these embassies. There is the scene of Flaminius refusing to be bribed by Lucullus, but Shakespeare's talk between Lucius, Servilius and the three strangers is omitted. Instead, to Lucius is ascribed the anger of Shakespeare's Sempronius at being so unfriendly asked last; Lucius uses part of Sempronius's speech in denying Evanthe, who in this case

pleads for her father. Alcibiades promises to go to the Senate for help for Timon. There follows, as in Shakespeare, the scene of Timon's Olympian anger, and his bidding Flavius summon the old guard of sycophants to a banquet. The Senate scene, with Alcibiades's plea for Timon, and the subsequent banishment of Alcibiades himself, has been reduced to a mere street scene. The act ends with the barmecide feast at Timon's.

In the fourth act Evanthe is solicited by the Senators to help the City as regards Timon, who has fled, and Alcibiades, who is marching against Athens. The rest of the act shows Timon in the woods. Alcibiades, entering, is unaccompanied by the prostitutes, and, on going, leaves Phocion to guard Timon. Flavius now appears, and the scene between him and Timon is as in Shakespeare; the same may be said of the following words with Apemantus. The last act shows Athens delivering Evanthe to Alcibiades as hostage. They go to the wood. Timon is but a feeble old man and lives just long enough to join the hands of Evanthe and Alcibiades; he expires on the steps of a ruined temple. Between the two events mentioned above, Cumberland deals out poetic justice to Lucullus and Lucius. The former, it seems, had buried the gold Timon finds under the tree, and now Timon is again squandering what he had formerly given Lucullus. And soldiers, sympathising with Timon, have looted the palace of Lucius of "pictures, statues, coins, rich hangings, couches, vestments wrought with gold, and robes of Tyrian dye; plate, jewels, gems," etc. Lucius, muffled in disguise, is forced by the soldiers to laugh at the narration of these losses. How could poetic justice more delicately deal?

Cumberland, in his advertisement, wishes that "I could have brought this play upon the Stage with less Violence to its Author, and not so much Responsibility on my own Part." The question is, what, except vanity, prevented his doing so? Garrick mounted the play with much fine scenery, with unusual effects, and with Barry and Mrs. Barry as Timon and Evanthe; but it failed.

GARRICK'S VERSION OF HAMLET

It seems rather strange to end this long chronicle with an account of the first violence done to Hamlet, perhaps the most revered of Shakespeare's works. This play had escaped all re-writing until Garrick, in 1772, becoming nervous under Voltaire's strictures against the barbarousness of the play, turned his attention to making it more regular, according to Eighteenth-Century ideals. Possibly he thought that this would be his crowning service to the memory of Shakespeare. It was produced on December 18, 1772, and held the stage for eight years, not without opposition, but also not without powerful support and approbation. Garrick never published this version, and we were, until recently, somewhat in the dark as to the exact damage done the poet.

I was fortunate enough to find in the Westminster Magazine for 1773 (volume I, page 34) a brief account of the performance: "The tedious interruptions of this beautiful tale no longer disgrace it; its absurd digressions are no longer disgusting. The meeting of Hamlet with his Father's Ghost, in the first Act (when the Story leapt forward twenty-four hours in the space of ten minutes) is now protracted to the end of the second Act. The second Act in the original becomes the Third in the Alteration; the Third is converted into the Fourth; and the Fourth, by the judicious addition of certain Passages in the Fifth, constitutes the last Act of the new Edition. Hamlet, instead of embarking for England, is prevented by the arrival of young Fortinbras, whose business suggests to him, that he has forgot his almost-blunted purpose, and that it is time for him to fulfil his promise to his Father's Spirit, and sweep to his revenge. Laertes, too, who had embarked for France, is tempest-beaten upon his own coast, and returns to Court in sufficient time to be revenged of Hamlet for the death of his father. These, and many other inaccuracies are obviated by the simple effects of transposing, expunging, and the addition of a few lines.—Necessary innovations! when introduced by

the acquisition of such splendid Advantages. We have now to boast, that this brilliant Creation of the Poet's Fancy is purged from the Vapours and Clouds which obscured it; and like his own Firmament, it appears to be finely fretted with Golden Stars."

The London Chronicle of December 17–19, 1772, adds further details. It was performed to a "crouded house," and Mr. Garrick "played . . . with uncommon spirit. The old scenes of low humour (particularly that of the Grave Diggers) were omitted. Hamlet does not go to England, but fights with Laertes soon after his scene with the King. The Queen, at the encounter, runs off, and an account is at the conclusion, given of her death. Polonius's advice to his son, a fine lesson for young travellers, is restored, with the description of Fortinbras's army, and many other fine passages, which have been hitherto overlooked. In short, the play makes a very respectable figure in its present state, and the alterations seem to have been produced by the hand of a master."

Davies, in his Dramatic Miscellanies, gives an account which is not very different from the combined descriptions just cited. "The plotting scenes," he adds, "between the King and Laertes, to destroy Hamlet, were entirely changed, and the character of Laertes rendered more estimable. Hamlet, having escaped from Rosencrans and Guildenstern, returns with a firm resolution to avenge the death of his father. The Grave-diggers were absolutely thrown out of the play. The audience were not informed of the fate of Ophelia [*i. e.*, her funeral was omitted; he previously states that in the fifth act she is "distracted, as in the old play"]; and the Queen, instead of being poisoned on the stage, was led from her seat, and said to be in a state of insanity, owing to her sense of guilt. When Hamlet attacks the King, the latter draws his sword and defends himself, and is killed in the rencounter. Laertes and Hamlet die of their mutual wounds."

Conjecture, moreover, has added further details to the above. Boaden, in his Life of Kemble, states that "Mr.

Kemble had in his library what I believe to have been the very copy of this play, upon which Mr. Garrick's alterations were made." Boaden then gives a very excellent summary of the changes, which, with one very important exception, agrees with the composite picture to be gathered from the triple patchwork just detailed.

Garrick, he says, "cut out the voyage to England, and the execution of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern [a new point, this] . . . He omitted the funeral of Ophelia, and all the wisdom of the prince, and the rude jocularity of the grave-diggers." All this we gather from earlier accounts, but Boaden gives an admirable picture of the changes in the last scene of the tragedy. "Hamlet bursts in upon the King and his court, and Laertes reproaches him with his father's and his sister's deaths. The exasperation of both is at its height, when the King interposes; he had commanded Hamlet to depart for England, and declares that he will no longer bear this rebellious conduct, but that his wrath shall at length fall heavy on the prince. 'First,' exclaims Hamlet, 'feel you mine'; and he instantly stabs him. The queen rushes out imploring the attendants to save her from her son. Laertes, seeing treason and murder before him, attacks Hamlet to revenge his father, his sister, and his King. He wounds Hamlet mortally, and Horatio is on the point of making Laertes accompany him to the shades, when the prince commands him to desist, assuring him that it was the hand of Heaven, which administered by Laertes 'that precious balm for all his wounds.' We then learn that the miserable mother had dropt in a trance ere she could reach her chamber-door, and Hamlet implores for her 'an hour of penitence ere madness end her.' He then joins the hands of Laertes and Horatio, and commands them to unite their virtues (a coalition of ministers) 'to calm the troubled land.' The old couplet, as to the bodies, concludes the play."

Aside from the radical extra-Shakespearian changes in the last act, it is interesting to learn, from all the above records, that the advice of Polonius to Laertes was restored,

and also the account of Fortinbras's army, the latter so seldom given before or since. Boaden and Davies differ as to the fate of Laertes, Davies killing him, the other raising him to the rank of a minister of state. Of course, the copy of the play that Boaden saw may not have been Garrick's prompt-copy. Both men, however, say they saw the version acted, and Boaden must have remembered, one would think, the fate of so important a character as Laertes: but Davies, also, should have remembered!

As a matter of fact, Boaden's account is supported by the word of Percy Fitzgerald in the Theatre Magazine for May, 1886. He tells us that during the preceding year, being "on the track of old plays," he found in the Kensington road an old prompt-book, a quarto of Hamlet, dated 1703, with alterations in the hand of Hopkins, Garrick's prompter, and signed with his initials. It bore the title, Hamlet, as altered by David Garrick, Esq., 1777. The text of the final scene, reproduced in the magazine, is exactly conformable to Boaden's recollection. Boaden's quoted speeches are found in it. I refer the reader to this reprint, to show how swiftly the tragedy moved to its conclusion. If it is not Garrick's version, it is very like the accounts of it previously cited. "To such material changes, in this favourite tragedy," says Davies, "the audience submitted during the life of the alterer; but they did not approve what they barely endured. The scenes and characters of Shakespeare, with all their blemishes [Davies wrote in 1785], will not bear radical or violent alteration. . . . But the spectators of Hamlet would not part with their old friends the Grave-diggers. The people soon called for Hamlet as it had been acted from time immemorial."

Yet George Steevens, the famous editor of Shakespeare, wrote thus to Garrick:

> I expect great pleasure from the perusal of your altered Hamlet. It is a circumstance in favour of the poet which I have long been wishing for. Dr. Johnson allots to this tragedy the praise of variety, but in my humble opinion, that variety is often impertinent, and always languishing on the stage. In spite of all he has said on the

subject, I shall never be thoroughly reconciled to tragi-comedy. . . . . This play of Shakspere, in particular, resembles a looking glass exposed for sale, which reflects alternately the funeral and the puppet-show, the venerable beggar soliciting charity, and the blackguard rascal picking a pocket.

. . . . . .

I think you need not fear that the better part of your audience (as Othello says) should *yawn at alteration*. . . . . You had better throw what remains of the piece into a farce, to appear immediately afterwards. No foreigner would ever believe it was formed out of the loppings and excrescences of the tragedy itself. You may entitle it "The Grave-diggers; with the pleasant Humours of Osrick, the Danish Macaroni."

This letter came, remember, from George Steevens, who pre-empted to himself the privilege of being editor-in-chief of Shakespeare. If it had not been written so long ago, I could almost become sad over it; indignant, too, at the sublime conceit of "in my *humble* [God save the mark!] opinion, that variety is often *impertinent*"!

But Garrick was not the only one to change Hamlet. Tate Wilkinson, in the first volume of The Wandering Patentee, prints a long, bombastic version of the last act, which he prepared for his York circuit, on Garrick's refusal to send him the Drury Lane version. Garrick's revision is simplicity itself in comparison. In the Wilkinson rewriting also, Laertes preserves his life.

At about the time the English were wearying of Garrick's alterations, the Germans are alleged to have perpetrated atrocities worse than his. From the second issue of the Actor, March, 1780, I glean the astonishing evidence that the Germans brought about a happy ending for the play and effected other changes reprehensible to our modern taste: "Hamlet," says this account of the Germans, "is their delight: some of them say there is not a circumstance can happen in life to which an apt quotation cannot be made from Hamlet. In that scene where the mock Play is performed before the King and Queen, they erect, at the Hamburgh Theatre, a false Stage, and when it is over, and the King calls for lights, drop the curtain as at the end of

any other Play. They likewise precede this Scene with a grand Pantomime dance, in which they first relate the story of Gonzago in dumb shew. The Translator has altered the names of Horatio, Polonius, &c., to others from the Danish; and the characters are dressed in the habits of the times. Hamlet too is preserved, and the catastrophe is in part happy. The Germans could not bear to see their favourite die, though death in his circumstances must certainly be the greatest and only means of happiness." Crabb Robinson, moreover, in his Diary, records under date of 1800, that he saw in Frankfort a version of Hamlet, in which "the catastrophe is changed: As Hamlet is about to drink the poison the Queen's illness is perceived—his hand is stayed—he rushes on the King and slays him—he is attacked—thunder is heard—the Queen confesses—he forgives Laertes—and all's well that ends well. This I have told to Germans, who," adds Robinson significantly, "have wished to deny the fact." But in 1814, he also saw Ducis's Hamlet at Rouen; in this "the unities are preserved, and Hamlet is victorious. No more need be said."

All I have to say is that, if the German version was no more like the Shakespearian than is the arid Alexandrine affair of Ducis—produced in Paris in 1769—the ghost of Shakespeare need not have turned a hair. It is, as has been wittily said, Hamlet with Shakespeare left out. Except for a slight resemblance in the story, the Gallic Hamlet is about as near to Shakespeare's as a David picture is to the paintings in the Sistine Chapel. The short space of time that separates the Ducis production from Garrick's alterations might lead one to imagine that Garrick imitated the Parisian in his revampings; I am glad to exonerate the Englishman.

CHAPTER XIV

SCENERY: GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF STAGING

Even throughout the reign of Garrick, one continues to grope for definite details of staging. Newspapers, magazines, the numerous pamphlets on theatrical subjects, to which to-day we should turn for help in such investigation, afford but little information in the decades now under review. Pictures give more or less faithful portraits of faces and costumes, but little that is trustworthy in scenic background. More valuable, of course, are the chronicles of theatre-men like Tate Wilkinson, Chetwood, Wilkes, Davies, Victor; occasionally, also, a playgoer drops a remark in his correspondence. But at best, we can glean so little, so very little! Nevertheless, the reader will be surprised to find at the very outset of the period something both specific and authentic. In the British Museum is preserved a "Schedule referred to in and by an Indenture of Assignment made the 30th day of January, 1744, Between John Rich . . . . of the first part, Martha Launder . . . . of the second part." This schedule, possibly filed in connection with a mortgage taken out by Rich on the theatre property, may be found in the Appendix to Mr. H. Saxe Wyndham's Annals of Covent Garden Theatre.

It begins with a list of scenes—"flats in the Scene Room." Included are "Cottage and long village, Medusa's Cave, Grotto that changes to Country house, Inside of Merlin's cave, dairy, Hermitage, Clock Chamber, Farm Yard, Country House, Church, town, chimney chamber, fort, Rialto, Harvey's hall, Othello's new Hall, Inn Yard, Arch to Waterfall, Short Village, garden, short wood." These I have given by selection. In the top flies are other flats: "A large pallace arch, an old low flat of a tower and church, an open flat with cloudings on one side, and palace on the

other." In the Scene room and in the Great Room are back flats: "Harvey's palace, Bishop's garden, waterfall, the Arch of Harvey's palace, back Arch of Ariodante's pallace, a canal, a seaport," etc.

The wings that give lateral support to these flats are found in the Scene Room: "4 Ariodante's pallace, 12 Harvey's pallace, do. rock, do. woods, do. Atalanta's garden . . . 6 vault, do Hill, do Inn Yard, do. fine chamber, do. plain chamber." In the Great Room are, among others, I beg the reader to note, "Eight moonlight" wings. I wonder if these last support my suggestion (page 145) about "night-scenes" in the Restoration theatre?

But other parts of scenery are scattered about. There are "painted pieces" in the Scene Room: "6 tint pieces, Shakespeare's monument, Macbeth's cave, Œdipus tower, a balcony, old garden wall, common canopy in Rich^{d} 2^{d}, a Balustrade, 3 peices open Country," etc. Again I give by selection.

The borders and cloudings are found in various parts of the regions "behind"; patient search will be rewarded by a "sky border to Arch in *coronation*," the "compass border to Atalanta's garden," "6 gothick chamber borders for false stage," a "large border of Ariodante's pallace," an "old sky border," etc.

Flats, wings, "pieces," borders: from these hints the reader may set the stage for himself. That he might the more easily do so, I brought out so varied an assortment of scenes for his delight. But he must not expect too easy a time. Flats, wings, "pieces," borders, yes; but not always "flats." To my surprise, I find in the inventory "a ground peice to Atalanta's garden, the back cloth," to the same scene, I take it. The back cloth! I had supposed such things were not in use. In another place, the stage regions store, we are told, "the Sea back cloth," "Cloths," or solid paintings (not "flats") were used in the Caroline masques, and a painted "curtain" fell once (1690) in The Prophetess; but later stage-directions had led one to believe they had been discarded; and here they are, in

THE MODERN DUEL

A scene from Miss in Her Teens, Covent Garden, 1747

1744 at Covent Garden! Only two or three are mentioned in the mass of flats scheduled. That they were not, as in later days, rolled round a cylinder which finally bumped on the stage when the complete picture was disclosed to the audience, I gather from two items in the inventory. On the stage, we read, there are "two back garden cloths fixt"; in a frame, I should guess, even without the assistance of my second proof—another item: "2 small borders and 2 iron rods, large hill hung." These "back cloths," then, were "hung" in frames, and could be lifted easily, I suppose, into the flies or into the wings. They were not the kind of "drop-scene" still found in country-theatres, solemnly unrolling, as a reluctant cylinder descends to the floor of the stage. All of these "cloths," with one exception—"a country-scene"—are described as "back-cloths." I have no reason for believing they were used as a modern "drop" would be used, "in one," "in two," etc.

One could not ask a better vade-mecum through the scene-rooms of 1744 than that offered by the inventory from which I have so liberally quoted. From it, for instance, one learns how well founded were the outcries after 1723 against the predominance of pantomimic spectacle and "machinery." There may be fulness of description of scenery, as we have discovered; but there is a plethora of listed "machines," in whole or in part. There are the "body of a machine in *Apollo and Daphne,* the back of machine in *Jupiter and Europa,* 2 wings and 1 border to the back machine, 8 wings to great machine in *rape* [of Proserpine?], the horses to front of Back machine in *Apollo and Daphne,* the great travelling machine made for *Orpheus,*" and many others, too costly to mention. Verily, the first half of the Eighteenth Century was not without mechanical thrills in the theatre.

STAGE MECHANISM IN 1744

But could they manage these things? They at least tried to do so. The Inventory is imposing in its array of

mechanical devices for lifting and placing scenery. In the cellar of the playhouse are the "grave trap and three others with do. [i. e., with barrels (or cylinders), cordage, w[eigh]ts, &c.], the scene barrel fixt with ropes, Banquo's trap with barrel and cordage, a barrel groove, and wts. to trees in *Orpheus*, 6 trees to do., the post and barrel to pidgeon house, the egg trap and box snap, flap to grave trap," etc. This seems to me a remarkable number of contrivances for a sub-stage precinct in what we are pleased to regard as a primitive playhouse.

Above, in the first flies, are various devices, as, for instance, "12 top grooves with 6 iron braces and ropes"; "6 handles and 12 brackets for the sea"—a rather unruly sea, one imagines; "4 barrels, w^{tes} and ropes to the flies"; a "hook to draw off the cloudings." In the top flies are "12 braces and stays to the round fly," as well as "2 barrels, weights, wires and scaffoldings to dragon." And in the roof are "the barrel to the stages [i. e., some false stages used in great spectacles and mentioned in the schedule] with ropes, weights, etc., a barrel to figure in *Œdipus*, w^{t} and rope, the barrel to the great machine in *Jupiter and Europa*, now used in *Comus*, with their wires, wts., and ropes, 2 old barrels," etc.

In the rope room are "2 muffle ropes with swivells fit for use, 2 old check ropes with swivells, and the weights and their dimensions. The great counterpoize to all the traps and iron hooks 487 lbs. The grave trap 2, wts. and iron hooks 126 lb., middle trap 67 lb., 2 weights in painting room, 250 lb." In the flies are other weights. Those connected with what we should now call the lighting system I leave for later discussion. I have cited enough to show a modern stage mechanician something of the appliances available by his remote predecessor in the early days of Garrick, or, shall I say, the last days of Cibber? since most of the properties and scenes listed look back to the decade of the '30's rather than forward to the splendid days of the middle and late '40's. Veritably one might place this catalogue in that part of the narrative concerning

the closing days of the triumvirate at Drury Lane; but, on reflection, it seems best here as a point of departure for a discussion of the era of Garrick.

MISHAPS IN STAGE-SETTING

Undoubtedly the intention of all this stage-machinery was admirable; that it frequently failed to operate we know. In the Gentleman's Magazine for May, 1789, is a letter signed Dramaticus, and submitted by the recipient, with the added explanation that "though written thirty years before, it so exactly hits conditions to-day that it might be regarded almost as a present-day criticism." Dramaticus some time, then, near 1759, animadverts on the "want of due order and regulation in the lower department of scene-shifters . . . by whose frequent inattention we are often presented with dull clouds hanging in a lady's dressing-room or overcasting an antichamber; trees intermixed with disunited portions of the peristyle: vaulted roofs unsupported; or a chief commander giving his orders for battle from a prison, instead of from the head of a camp, the stop scene not corresponding with the laterals, &c."

This agrees with the account of James Boaden, the biographer of Kemble. Writing in 1825, he asserts: "The memory of no very aged person may present, if closely urged, some not very brilliant impressions of the miserable pairs of flats that used to clap together on even the stage trodden by Mr. Garrick; architecture without selection or propriety; a hall, a castle or a chamber; or a cut wood of which all the verdure seemed to have been washed away. Unquestionably all the truth, all the uniformity, all the splendour and the retinue of the stage came in, but did not die, with Mr. Kemble. He provoked a demand that will now constantly be made."

How much better was this than the slovenly practice in provincial theatres? It sounds very like a deliciously Humorous Description of the Theatre Royal at Portsmouth, culled from the Westminster Magazine of January,

1777, in which the writer states that the "extent of wings amounts only to a Colonade [*sic*] and a few withered trees"; consequently, "the very Pillars which but a few minutes before had the honour to support the dome of a Temple" were "reduced to the disgraceful necessity of upholding a cobler's cottage." Worst of all "I saw the Monarch of Syracuse haranging his army, a few evenings since, at the door of a Pawn-broker's shop," as Dramaticus had seen one "giving his orders for battle from a prison." In conclusion, I refer the reader to a delightful correspondence, in 1793, between Tate Wilkinson and a correspondent who objected to Tate's methods of staging at his theatre in Hull. Though the date falls far out of our period, the conditions strongly resemble those of Garrick's day.

SCENERY TOWARD THE END OF THE PERIOD

That methods of staging stock plays changed but little during the Garrick era, we may gather from another inventory of scenes and properties, this time in the Crow Street Theatre, Dublin, when it was passed over by Spranger Barry to Ryder in 1776. The full schedule may be found in Boaden's Life of Kemble; it is so like the Covent Garden list of 1744 that it may here be much abridged. There is, however, one important change to note: the use of the word "drop-scene." This kind of setting originated in the Garrick period.

The inventory, then, gives first, "a drop wood," "a drop palace" and "a town flat"; in other words, drops and flats were the order in scenic background. Other scenes catalogued at the Crow Street Theatre are more specific, in a general way, as it were, than the "drops" and "flats" previously cited: prison, canal garden, grand tent, cave with catacombs painted on the back, library, Gothic palace, garden, etc. Then the reader acquainted with the classic tragedy of the Eighteenth Century will have pallid memories evoked by specifications like "Outside a Chinese tem-

ple in the Orphan of China," "tomb in the Grecian Daughter," "Statue in Merope," etc. All these quoted, except probably the last two, were flats and drops.

The wings are specified, as in the 1744 inventory, in a group of their own: "three pair of picture chamber wings, six pair of wood wings, long used, five pair of statue wings, one greatly damaged, five pair of gothic wings ('five holes in the canvas')"—let us hope one to each pair. These chamber wings indicate the usual practice of setting a room with back painting, drop or flats, with side wings in perspective, forcing the characters to enter, literally, through the walls of the room. The habit is exemplified in the scenes from The School for Scandal and The Heiress (Vol. II, page 86). This convention of the stage was blandly offered and accepted in the theatre that knew not the verisimilitude of the "box" set.

That the custom was not accepted by every spectator is proved by the same letter of Dramaticus in the Gentleman's Magazine of May, 1789: "Again it is equally ridiculous to behold the actors making their *entrees* and *exits* through plastered walls and wainscot panels; the way by double doors in the bottom scene would be more natural! It might suit indeed the ghosts and aerial spirits thus to enter, better than through the gaping mouths of noisy trapdoors, as if spectres resided always in the bowels of the earth. Were the living actors confined to pass the way abovementioned, the apparitions might enter and disappear through the side-scenes of walls and rocks very conveniently, with propriety, according to the vulgar notion of spirits; or otherwise they may descend from the clouds, if practicable." But, in our amusement at the ideas conjured up by Dramaticus, let us not forget the ever useful proscenium doors. They were still in service in 1773, when Bell's Shakespeare was issued. The first scene of Coriolanus, Act II, is "a wood"; yet "enter at one door [!] Cominius, with the Romans: at another door Martius, with his arm in a scarf." This interesting direction shows the long per-

sistence of stage-custom; perhaps, however, it notes a survival, whereas the plaint of Dramaticus points out a newer path "through the plastered walls" that were side-wings.

Even so, we must not accept too blindly and blandly the theory that flats or drops and side wings were the invariable setting. The serviceable Aaron Hill proves that for elaborate sets occasionally lateral, transverse flats were used. Writing to Garrick on July 11, 1749, Hill says of his play, Merope, that he "rather chuses to break the scene, than lose an added beauty." The chief difficulty will be the painter's; "'twill call for all the pencil's art, to fill the temple (through side openings, seen 'twixt columns, standing separate from the slanting scenes, which are to be set back as far as possible) with such significantly busied groups of people." *The slanting scenes:* surely this is enough. For the full import, let the reader examine the side-flats of the scene in Ariane (1674). Obviously some such set was not unknown in the mid-Eighteenth Century.

Was not such an effect furnished in the opera Attalo, at the King's Theatre in 1758? Of this the London Chronicle of November 18–21 states: "We are presented with the scene of a square; not a dead piece of painted canvas, but one in which the prospective is executed in so masterly a manner, that one would almost swear it was something more than a mere *deceptio visus.* Scenes of this kind are seldom if ever to be seen in a common theatre." Is there not here, also, something like the "slanting scene"?

Of course, one must believe from the Chronicle statement that the chief scenic delight, in ordinary performances, was accomplished by the use of the cheaper and more expeditious flats and side wings, with occasional use of "drops." To the ordinary run of things, then, we reluctantly return. Above the back flats and the wings still hung the borders that had a wearisome tendency to "stick" or get out of place, or otherwise disconcert the scene-shifter and the sensitive spectator. I take it that the "one piece of clouding,

very little worth" in the Barry inventory was such a border.

Special bits of stage building are probably indicated, in the same list, by the "Tomb in the Grecian Daughter" and the "Statue in Merope"; there can be little doubt that such are specified in the listings: part of the bridge in King Arthur; two small trees, balcony in the Suspicious Husband, five small tents used in The Fair, etc. They are perhaps like the "pieces" in the 1744 inventory. The great majority of these, as indeed of all classified complete sets, are not for the legitimate drama, but for pantomime and operetta.

SCENES CHANGED WHILE THE ACTOR REMAINED ON THE STAGE

I hope it is apparent to the reader how far would have had to go the innovator who wished to reform entirely the incongruities of stage-management in the Eighteenth Century. As a matter of fact, nothing persists so obstinately as stage-convention. One point will illustrate. Even in 1768 we find evidence of a continuance of the custom described as obtaining in the ages of Betterton and Cibber —the custom of changing the scene while an actor remained stationary on the stage. Colman's King Lear opens with a scene in the King's palace, between Kent, Glocester and Edmund; Glocester says, "The King is coming," and immediately "Scene opens, and discovers King Lear, Cornwall," etc. Lear speaks to Glocester, who has been in sight, immovable, while the setting obviously has changed. The same device is employed in Romeo and Juliet in the 1773 edition of John Bell. Toward the close of Act IV, the scene is "a Hall," the speakers Capulet and the Nurse. Capulet bids the latter "go waken Juliet . . . hie make haste," etc., and himself departs. Then "Scene draws, and discovers Juliet on a Bed." The Nurse at once begins to speak, as if dissolving walls were part of the curse o' one

of their houses at least. This custom, long in use, was about dead by the time Bell's Shakespeare was issued for playgoers.

THE CURTAIN

During this period, as during the two preceding, scenes within the act were shifted in sight of the audience. When the custom arose of lowering the curtain between acts, I cannot say. Mr. W. J. Lawrence, in an account of Garrick's first appearance as Hamlet (this was in Dublin, in August, 1742), states that Garrick came "before the curtain between the acts," to apologise for the lack of music. I do not know his authority for this; the only evidence he adduces is the letter of Garrick's anonymous correspondent (Boaden, I, p. 14) who uses the expression, "when you came upon the stage", to make the announcement as to the music. In a pamphlet Criticism of [Moore's] The Foundling, in a Letter to the Author (1748), I seem to feel that the interesting practice of the act-drop had not yet been inaugurated; "the Act ended," says the writer, "as I have seen many others do, with all the Performers leaving the Stage, and the Music striking up." This language recalls that of Dennis in 1693, and of Addison in 1711.

The date of this evidence, be it remembered, was 1748. In the letter of Dramaticus (page 395), quoted from the Gentleman's Magazine of May, 1789, but by its transmitter asserted to refer to conditions of thirty years before, thirty years being, I take it, a mere round figure to express an indefinite past time, there is testimony almost incontrovertible. Thirty years, literally interpreted, will bring us to 1759. What said Dramaticus of that vague backward and abysm of time?

"I shall conclude this jumble," he writes, "by expressing a wish that every dramatic author would so contrive the *denouement*, ... as not to cover the stage with dead bodies, except in the *finale*, or last scene of his play; whereby the specious representation will be supported, and the curtain may drop, to leave us in the full enjoyment of the

prosimilitude: for it cannot be denied that the carrying off stiffened counterfeit dead bodies is so laughable an artifice, it is sure to excite a risibility, and turns the whole into a tragi-comic farce."

This passage is specific; at no time before the last scene, by inference, can corpses be screened from view by the falling curtain. The words expressly are *the last scene of his play*—not the last scene of the act; if the curtain fell after each act, there would naturally be no difficulty about disposing of the "dead"—it would not be necessary—especially at act-ends—to carry them off in view of the audience. The words, again let me repeat, explicitly are, "the last scene of his *play*." In this connection, let me refer to the words of Wilkinson (page 405) about the "six branches that used formerly to be let down at the end of every act, which required a nimble-fingered candle-snuffer." Why, one asks, "nimble-fingered"? If the curtain was lowered, what was the hurry? But if the curtain was up —then one must be nimble-fingered and get away as quickly as possible from the "guying" of an observant audience.

At last, however, the act-drop came into use. My impression is, as I have before stated, that it was introduced soon after the drop-scene; the name by which it is still habitually known—"drop" or "act-drop"—would prove this. The first unmistakable drop-scene with which I am familiar is found in both the London and the Gentleman's Magazine, for February, 1752. It occurs in an account of Harlequin Sorcerer at Covent Garden, an account practically identical in the two periodicals. In the narrative of scenic delights, we are told that "a scene drops, and gives us a prospect of ruinous rugged cliffs, with two trees hanging over them, beautifully executed." This, then, is the first definite clue to our search. Wilkinson, in his Memoirs, tells us that in 1762, a front street scene "was drawn up" and revealed a supper party. Probably the painted drop-scene began merely by taking the place, in the minds and eyes of the spectator, of the earlier closed flats. As soon as one scene was ordinarily or invariably used for this pur-

pose, the act-drop was recognised as an institution. When this result was achieved, rhymed "tags" would cease to be necessary; the audience would need them no longer. This delicate test leads one, again, to the mid-century; after 1750, new plays, whether in prose or in blank verse, cease to convey such alarums to the auditory nerves. Not every play up to 1750 supplies the act-tags invariably; but the exceptions are so few as to prove the rule. Nor does the abandonment of the custom occur fatally and at once; Thomson's Coriolanus (1749) lacks the appendages of ancient respect, but Young's Brothers (1753) still uses them. Nevertheless, few writers after Young thus "tag" their verses; the descending curtain saved them the trouble. This is a second clue to the beginning of the use of the act-drop. In fact, the Dramatic Censor in 1770 severely animadverts on the tag as absurd and unnatural.

From this time on, the reader must distinguish between the two curtains thenceforth in use. Heretofore, so far as I know, the only curtain was of green baize; until recent times—until asbestos took its place—such a curtain has risen at the beginning and fallen at the end of plays. With the introduction of a painted curtain, the serious old green affair still retained its ancient privilege of opening and closing the performance. The reader will remember that when Fanny Burney's Evelina (1778) attended the opera with her vulgar relatives, the green curtain was lowered at the end of the first act to prepare for the ballet; whereupon the offensive young man of the party supposed the end had come. Why? Because the *green* curtain had been let down. Find a painted curtain, and you will find, I am sure, the beginning of the practice of lowering the curtain between the acts. Well, I have found a painted curtain in 1754, and in Dublin at that. Benjamin Victor, recounting the riots the elder Sheridan met with from his rebellious Irish auditory, tells us that in the year mentioned, "a Party leaped upon the Stage, and with their Swords, and other Instruments, cut and slash'd the Curtain, which was finely painted, and cost a great Sum of Money." In that

passage I seem to glean the idea that the curtain was new; one does not use just that language for an old, worn bit of decoration. Can it be that act-drops had just then "come in"?

Who can say? The first contemporary reference I know is found in the London Magazine for January, 1756. In a review of the farce, The Apprentice, regarding Act II we are informed that "at the beginning of this act, the curtain rises and discovers the Spouting-Club, the members seated, roaring out bravos! drinking, &c." Even here, the curtain may have been lowered merely to arrange the tableau. At all events, by 1760, at least, a curtain was falling between acts. This we know from the twenty-first number of Goldsmith's Citizen of the World. The Chinese visitor attends the play and describes ironically what he saw on the stage. "After thus grieving through three scenes," says he of the heroine, "the curtain dropped for the first act." And "after the queen had fretted through the second act, the curtain was let down once more." It falls, I may say, with exemplary regularity throughout the remaining experience of the Oriental philosopher at the theatre. So this is the *terminus ad quem* we were seeking in our century-long progress through the theatres. At Amsterdam, Riccoboni informs us, the curtain fell between acts in 1738, the date of his History of the Theatres of Europe.

ENTERTAINMENT BETWEEN THE ACTS

Another survival from the earlier periods is indicated by the Chinese visitor. After the second act of the tragedy a vaudeville "turn" was introduced; "a man came in balancing a straw upon his nose, and the audience were clapping their hands in all the raptures of applause." And at the end of the third act, "the noise of clapping interrupted me once more; a child of six years old was learning to dance on the stage, which gave the ladies and mandarins infinite satisfaction." In Goldsmith's words I take leave of the custom of *entr'acte* variety "turns" in the English theatres;

the curious in such matters may search for them in playbills and newspaper advertisements of the time. Our pages need not further be laden with them.

LIGHTING

In 1744 the footlights in use at Covent Garden were removable from the sight of the audience; the stage, in other words, could be lighted or darkened by the raising or sinking of these "lamps." This we learn from the Rich inventory, from which we have already quoted. Among other items in the cellar, we find in that document, are "the lamps in front, fixt with barrels, cordage, wts, etc."; in the rope room, moreover, is the "counterpoize to front lamps 170 lbs." The reader, then, will understand that, by the working of "barrels, cordage and weights," the footlights could be lowered into a trough below the stage-level, whenever it was necessary to darken the scene.

This indicates an earlier usage, extending backward into the Cibber period; at least the system is in effect in the season of 1743–44, almost the beginning of the Garrick era. Perhaps Aaron Hill's lamps (page 281) also were capable (1735) of sinking to the depths below the stage. That only a few years after Rich gave out this inventory of his properties, footlights were literally "floats" at Drury Lane, we know from Tate Wilkinson. On that memorable night in 1758 when the audience at Garrick's Theatre rioted for more of Tate's imitations, Garrick, to dismiss the unruly crowd, ordered not only "the lights to be let down," but also "the lamps [to be] lowered," as a "convincing proof to the audience that all was over." "Lamps," it will be observed, is the expression used in all the above references; it is just going out of stage parlance to-day, as any old actor will admit. If the reader be in doubt, let him turn to Wilkinson's Actor's Tablet, to that part in which we are told of the crowding of the stage on benefit nights, when "the stage . . . also the stage-doors . . . and the stage boxes . . . enclosed fronts, on each side, of two or

three seats, on to the lamps," i. e., down to the footlights.

The reader will remember the chandeliers that hung over the Cibber stage; these must be considered in any account of stage-lighting in the next generation. Garrick, it will also be recalled, ordered, on the night of the riot Wilkinson records, "the lights to be let down, which consisted of six chandeliers hanging over the stage, every one containing twelve candles in brass sockets," seventy-two lights in all. These hoops or "rims" are visible in the Fitzgiggo pictures of 1763, as in the Pasquin illustration of 1737 (page 280). That they could be lowered in the earlier day, certainly in 1743–44, is provcd by an item in the inventory or schedule of that year. In the rope room are listed "To the six brances [*sic*] several wts. and iron hooks." Furthermore, in the cellar we find "6 old iron rings and chains for branches brought from Lincoln's Inn."

From 1743–44 to 1765, then, these chandeliers were important adjuncts to stage lighting. In the third volume of his pleasant Memoirs Wilkinson speaks again of the "six branches that used formerly to be let down at the end of every act, which required a nimble-fingered candle-snuffer."

The important thing to note in these accounts is that the hoops "let down"; they would equally well, I should suppose, lift up into the flies, out of sight of the audience, if a dark scene were required by the dramatist. A glance at the second of the Fitzgiggo pictures will show that the cords or chains by which the hoops are suspended come palpably from a height above the "borders" represented along the top of the proscenium-frame. Since there was no covering running over the tops of the "flats" when in position on the stage, the supports or holders of the chandelier-cords or chains must have been considerably above anything visible to the audience—in the Eighteenth Century equivalent of the modern "gridiron." The Wren plan for a theatre (presumably the second Drury Lane) will show how high over the stage was the floor of the story above; and from what else could the lights have been sus-

pended? If my assumption is correct, the lights, in other words, could be drawn high in the region of the flies, when the stage needed to be suddenly darkened. A pull at a cord could accomplish something like the operation of the switch of an electric light to-day. The only drawback would lie in the fact that the audience could so easily see how the miracle was effected.

Wilkinson's statement that the candle-hoops were lowered at the ends of acts, to meet the kindly ministrations of the "nimble-fingered" snuffer, is interesting in that, like certain cases in Latin grammar, it indicates not only "time when," but "time how long" this operation was effected.

Later in the first of the above narratives Wilkinson says that, when he was finally pushed on the stage, "the curtain was down and the branches also on each side." These branches I had noticed in some of the prints, but had no idea they were movable. Perhaps they, too, could be used for diminishing or increasing light on the "apron," in some such way as the hoops in the back scenes.

Footlights and chandeliers: these would not be sufficient for stage illumination to-day, nor were they in Garrick's time. In the cellar of Covent Garden in 1743–44 were, my faithful Schedule informs me, "12 pr. of Scene ladders fixt with ropes." The reader may not know what these contrivances were, but light may dawn on him when I call attention to some items on the stage: "24 blinds to scene ladders, 192 tinn candlesticks to do." Scene ladders then had to do with lighting—also with darkening the scene? Each was supplied with a blind or shade, and each was equipped with eight candlesticks. Were they used in the wings or up above? Being "fixt with ropes," they might have been suspended. Finally, did they take the place of the "stuff in the yard"—to such base uses do things return—the "14 lamps posts for stage out of use"? At any rate, lights from behind were used by the age of Garrick, and very early, too. Other items in the Schedule of 1744 will show attempts at both light and darkness: "41 sconce candlesticks 5 tin blinds to Stage lamps, 115 three corner tinn

FITZGIGGO, A NEW ENGLISH UPROAR, 1763

THE SECOND AND LAST ACT OF FITZGIGGO

lamps"; in other storage-places, "nine single blinds, with 48 tinn candlesticks," or "12 do. [candlesticks] fixt to a post with five canopys"—the latter possibly like those "lamps posts out of use" in the yard. I will not venture too much on these things, but they certainly smell of wing-lights. In the Barry Crow street inventory of 1776 is an item quite in line with this earlier collection, and indeed explaining it; this item succinctly calls for "seventy-six wing-lights."

The stage, from 1743–44 to 1765, then, had a three-fold system of lighting and darkening—a system involving foot-lights, hoops of candles, and wing-lights. Garrick introduced an entirely new system of lighting in 1765, on his return from a two-year trip to the Continent; his innovation was immediately adopted at Covent Garden. I was fortunate enough to find a contemporary account of this in the Universal Museum, for September, 1765:

"One very considerable improvement introduced by Mr. Garrick on the stage this season," it says, "is the removal of the six rings that used to be suspended over the stage, in order to illuminate the house: the French theatre is illuminated by another method, but the light that is cast on their stage is extremely faint and disagreeable: our English improver has availed himself of the hint from the French, and given to Drury-Lane those perfections which the other wants. The public were agreeably surprised on the opening of Drury-Lane theatre, to see the stage illuminated with a strong and clear light, and the rings removed that used to supply it, though to the great annoyance of many of the audience, and frequently the actors themselves.

"The managers of Covent-Garden have attempted the like improvement, but not with the same success; instead of wax, they have given oil, and their lights may be said to smell too much of the lamp. That theatre, in consequence of this deviation, has more of the gloom of the *Comedie Francoise*, than of the cheerfulness of Drury Lane. But as Messrs. Beard and Co. have ever shewn themselves attentive to please the public, there is no doubt but a laudable emulation will soon induce them to make the necessary alterations."

It has generally been stated that this great innovation involved the introduction of footlights; but no contemporary record with which I am familiar says so. In view of evidence I have previously introduced, it could not. An account in the Annual Register, September, 1765, speaks of the stage as "illuminated in a clear and strong light," and specifically states that "this is done by the disposition of lights behind the scenes, which cast a reflection forwards, exactly resembling sunshine, greatly to the advantage of the performances." From a clipping in an extra-illustrated edition of Garrick's Life and Correspondence in the Harvard Theatre Collection—this clipping under date of September 25, 1765, though the name of the paper is not given —we learn, in a perfect shower of language, that "the Drury Lane Managers have absolutely created an artificial Day; or, to vary my Expression . . . they seem to have brought down the Milky Way to the Bottom of the Stage; or, to vary once more, they have given us a perfect Meridian of Wax." And, oddly enough, the revelation ends with exactly the same figure used in the account in the Universal Museum, about the lights of Covent Garden smelling too much of the lamp. In all these accounts, not a word about footlights, you see. The heart of the mystery was discoverable to any not blinded by preconceived notions. The world had only to to look at the palpable "lamps" in the scene from Miss in Her Teens, 1747 (page 392), and the second print of The New English Uproar, 1763 (page 406); but it would not look! The Annual Register says of Garrick's new lighting that "this is done by the disposition of lights behind the scenes, which cast a reflection forwards." Perhaps, after all, Spranger Barry's "seventy-six wing lights" illuminate the problem sufficiently.

SPECTATORS ON THE STAGE

One other reform effected by Garrick was the banishing of spectators from the stage in 1763. Tate Wilkinson, in the Actor's Tablet, from which I have so often quoted,

gives the best account of the crowding of these barnacles. When Garrick and Lacy assumed control of Drury Lane Theatre in 1747 they conscientiously tried to drive persistent loafers from the stage; that their efforts were not so successful as biographies of the actor had led me to believe, I gather from the well-known D—ry L—ne P . . yh . . . se Broke Open, in a Letter to Mr. G——. 1748. "What Applauses," it says, "were bestow'd upon you, by Men of real Taste and Lovers of the Stage, the Beginning of the Winter, for your judicious Regulation of the Scenes, by an Advertisement to this Effect — *As many and frequent Complaints have been made by the Audience, on Account of the Gentlemen coming forward and crowding the Stage, the Managers are oblig'd to advertise, that no Gentlemen can be admitted behind the Scenes for the Future.*—What an excellent Design was this? And how decent and regular did your Plays appear, while you persevered in it? But on a sudden this Seat of Decorum is once more over-run by the *Goths* and *Vandals :* At present the Beaux pop in and out with as little Opposition as Modesty; and have made so absolute a *Burrow* of the Stage, that unless they are *ferretted* out by some Means or other, we may bid farewel to Theatrical Entertainments."

A possible clue to Garrick's desire to rid his stage of such pests is to be found in Thomas Sheridan's Humble Appeal to the Public together with . . . the State of the Stage in Ireland (1758). Therein, speaking of spectators on the stage (a nuisance he anticipated Garrick by abolishing from the Dublin theatre), he says, "When Mr. Garrick paid his first visit, to this Kingdom, . . . he performed the character of King Lear, Mrs. Woffington that of Cordelia. Just as they had prepared themselves for the drawing of the scene, which was to discover the old King asleep, with his head on the lap of Cordelia, a gentleman threw himself down on the other side of the fair princess . . . and began to treat her with the utmost indecency; resentment followed on her part and abuse on his." Perhaps the memory of this stiffened Garrick's purpose five years later, when he

entered on the management of Drury Lane Theatre. He seems, however, to have been only partially successful, at first, in driving these parasites from the acted scene.

Whatever the practice on ordinary occasions, the gala benefit night still saw the stage built up into a miniature theatre, audience confronting audience in more or less hostile array. On these occasions part of the pit was railed into the boxes, and the stage was formed into an amphitheatre, where an audience gathered behind the curtain "up to the clouds," menial persons on the floor, "beaux and no beaux," to quote Tate Wilkinson, "crowding the only entrance. What a play," he continues, "it must have been whenever Romeo was breaking open the supposed tomb, which was no more than a screen on those nights set up, and Mrs. Cibber prostrating herself on an old couch, covered with black cloth, as the tomb of the Capulets, with at least (on a great benefit night) two hundred persons behind her, which formed the background, as an unfrequented hallowed place of chapless skulls, which was to convey the idea of where the heads of all her buried ancestors were packed." On each side, also, two or three rows of seats extended on to "the lamps" (or footlights) for ladies of distinction, "which rendered it next to impossible for those ladies in the stage boxes to see at all."

According to Wilkinson, there was only one entrance on each side the stage, which was always particularly crowded. "The stage spectators were not content with piling on raised seats, till their heads reached the theatrical cloudings; which seats were closed in with dirty worn out scenery . . . but when the amphitheatre was filled, there would be a group of ill dressed lads and persons sitting on the stage in front, three or four rows deep. . . .

"Mr. Quin, aged sixty-five, with the heavy dress of Falstaff . . . was several minutes before he could pass through the numbers that wedged and hemmed him in. . . . Mrs. Cibber, arrayed for Juliet in a full white satin dress, with the then indispensable large hoop, in all her pomp of woe, thus shaken and taken prisoner as it were!"

These stage-mobs strutted and displayed their finery, and insulted the audience in front, until frequently a pelting of oranges and apples from the gallery retaliated, much to the distress of ladies in the pit, who were so tightly hemmed in that they could not escape. Frequently ludicrous scenes were enacted, to the delight of the crowd, as on the famous occasion of Holland's benefit, when, as Hamlet, he dropped his hat, and a fellow-townswoman on the stage, hearing him complain of the nipping air, rose and gravely placed his hat again on his head. It was probably John Rich, as we have seen, who broke the hold of the idler. Wilkinson tells us that "Rich was strongly attached and tenderly tenacious of his harlequin jacket being prophaned or infringed upon; and kept his holy rites and mysteries of serpents, lions, druids, &c. sacred from the inspection of all curious prying inspectors." And yet, as we know, his objection dated back to the days of The Prophetess in 1716.

Garrick, meantime, had grown very weary of it, especially, to do him justice, on his own benefit nights, and he finally got rid of the nuisance by enlarging the auditorium of his theatre to a seating capacity equivalent to that of the old theatre and stage when formerly built up; this satisfied the actor-beneficiaries, and finally abolished the habit. But fops, apprentices and actors all had to be appeased and satisfied before the despicable custom disappeared.

It will be seen that the prevalence of a crowd like this on the stage precluded any possibility of elaborate scenery on benefit nights, or indeed on any night; what could not be had on benefit or public nights was probably but sparingly provided on other nights. Again, let us say, blessed be pantomime with its scenes and machines, that finally killed the evil!

THE TWO GRENADIERS

Before we leave the discussion of human encumbrances on the stage, we may state that the two grenadiers still continued on guard at the stage-doors throughout the Gar-

rick period. A letter in the Adventurer of November 14, 1752, ridicules the mechanical devices of pantomime in proposing the staging of Hercules and his Labours. One of the features is to be the "birds of Stymphalus's lake," who are to be "formed of leather covered with ravens' feathers. . . . I have disposed my wires so as to play them about tolerably well, and make them flap out the candles" —doubtless in the six rings mentioned above—"and two of the largest are to gulp down the grenadiers stationed at each door of the stage, with their caps, muskets, bayonets, and all their accoutrements." Tate Wilkinson, writing at the close of the century, speaks of the abrogation of the practice "within the last twenty years." I cannot refrain from referring to the oft-told tale of Garrick and these guardians of the peace. According to the legend, one of the grenadiers was so overcome by the acting of Garrick as Lear that he fainted in full view of the audience; Garrick, deeply touched by this tribute to his powers, rewarded the fellow with a guinea. Naturally, word of this generosity spread, and the next night of Garrick's acting another guard dropped down at his post. Only that night Garrick was acting a comedy!

Under conditions like these De Loutherbourg and Richards could have done but little; the advance from 1763 and 1765, on which dates, respectively, Garrick cleared the stage and revolutionised the system of lighting, to 1776, when Loutherbourg was in full control of scenic effect at Drury Lane—the advance, I say, was incalculably great. It was little short of a revolution, and can be estimated only after silent contemplation of what had really been effected. It was literally the passing of an old order and the beginning of a new—the gap between was almost immeasurable.

THE PAGES, STAGE CARPETS, ETC.

One other matter remains. In the Cibber period, we called upon Addison to give an idea of stage conventions in his day—the pages bearing the train of the queen, etc.

SCENE FROM TWELFTH NIGHT. MISS YOUNGE, DODD, LOVE AND WALDRON

Engraved by Smith after a drawing by Wheatley, 1774

Let us end this chapter with an offering from an author equally famous—Goldsmith, in the first issue of the Bee, October 6, 1759:

"The magnificence of our theatres is far superior to any others in Europe [remember Goldsmith's wanderings on the Continent, and take him for an authority], where plays only are acted. The great care our performers take in performing for a part, their exactness in all the minutiæ of dress [shades of Quin, Mrs. Yates, *et al !*], and other little scenical proprieties, have been taken notice of by Riccoboni, a gentleman of Italy . . . . but there are several improprieties. . . . As, for instance, spreading a carpet punctually at the beginning of the death-scene, in order to prevent our actors from spoiling their clothes: this immediately apprises us of the tragedy to follow: for laying the cloth is not a more sure indication of dinner, than laying the carpet of bloody work at Drury Lane. Our little pages, also, with unmeaning faces, that bear up the train of a weeping princess, and our awkward lords-in-waiting, take off much from her distress."

The absurd pages had persisted in stage custom at least from 1709 to 1759; Tate Wilkinson, in the Actor's Tablet (1790), speaks of these "as now dismissed." His account is too humorous-picturesque to be in turn "dismissed"; we can almost see the vision. "The ladies," he tells us, "were in large hoops, and the velvet petticoats, heavily embossed, proving extremely inconvenient and troublesome, and always a page behind to hear the lover's secrets, and keep the train in graceful decorum. If two princesses met on the stage, with the frequent stage-crossing, then practised, it would now seem truly entertaining to behold a page dangling at the tail of each heroine; and I have seen a young lady, not of the most delicate form, who sustained that office frequently, a Miss Mullart;—they are now dismissed, as judged unnecessary and superfluous."

I may say that the carpet spread for the death of the chief character I have not heard of in any previous record. But it must still have been in force in 1773, when a foot-

note to Bell's edition of Macbeth, commenting on the dying speech of the hero, written in by Garrick, says that, though the lines are good, "we are not fond of characters writhing and flouncing on carpets." I believe the same custom is referred to in Mrs. Bellamy's account of her quarrel with the irascible Woffington over the question of comparative elegance in costuming Roxana and Statira. The popular Peg was so enraged when Bellamy entered the stage in the second of her new and splendid robes from France, that "oh! dire to tell! she drove me off the carpet, and gave me the *coup de grace* almost behind the scenes."

The twenty-first Citizen of the World, previously quoted, may be further called on to close the discussion. It gives a graphic impression of the noise and bustle attendant on the "big" scenes of Tragedy in 1760. "The fifth act began, and a busy piece it was. Scenes shifting, trumpets sounding, mobs hallooing, carpets spreading [again!], guards bustling from one door to another; gods, demons, daggers, racks, and ratsbane. But whether the King was killed, or the queen was drowned, or the son was poisoned, I have absolutely forgotten." Goldsmith's strikes me as a very good account of things in general on the London stage in the palmy days of Garrick.

CHAPTER XV

SCENERY: ACTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT

At the beginning of the chapter with similar heading in the Cibber period, we allowed ourselves to quote Addison's humorous pell-mell of stock scenes at Drury Lane. Here we refer again to the schedule of scenery and properties at Covent Garden, found in Mr. Saxe Wyndham's history of that house. The reader will observe that the number and variety of stock sets are surprising; but they are stock sets indisputably, and used, one would judge, for the run of regular plays. In comparison, how prominently stand out the italics which catalogue the great supply of specialised scenes for pantomimes and similar frivolities! Precisely the same thing may be said of the inventory of the Irish theatre in 1776. From the beginning to the very end of Garrick's management, one infers from these documents, the legitimate stage was adorned as little as possible, and only with what the stock-room provided. Among the material of the 1744 list, however, are to be noted *disjecta membra* of what must have been a beautiful palace by Harvey—so beautiful as to be called by his name.

Therefore—in spite of an occasional fine scene, like that of Harvey—any scenery was good enough for Shakespeare. Garrick himself implicitly states as much in the prologue at the opening of Drury Lane Theatre, September 5, 1750, after the secession of Barry and Mrs. Cibber to the rival house. He promises the best plays, if the public will support, but, if not, good-bye plays, and on with pantomimes and spectacles!

> But if an empty house, the actor's curse,
> Shows us our *Lears* and *Hamlets* lose their force;
> Unwilling, we must change the nobler scene,
> And, in our turn, present you *Harlequin:*
> Quit poets, and set carpenters to work,
> Shew gaudy scenes, or mount the vaulting *Turk.*

To what extent Garrick fulfilled this threat may be judged from a pamphlet of the same year, The Actor: a Treatise on the Art of Playing. I need no further corroboration of my opinion concerning the shabby mounting of Shakespeare at the beginning of the Garrick *régime*. The author speaks of the wondrous scenery and machinery in opera and pantomime, and then proceeds: "The theatrical pieces represented on the *English* stage, as they are conformable to nature and reason . . . . may easily spare a great deal in pomp and decoration . . . . Notwithstanding . . . it cannot but be acknowledg'd it wou'd be much more reasonable that the scenery should always represent at least the place where the action represented is said to be perform'd, than that it should be left at random in this point: And above all things it is absurd and monstrous to admit a part of the audience upon the stage and behind the scenes."

TESTIMONY OF TATE WILKINSON

Garrick and his predecessors, it will be seen, had the secret of spectacular display without ever dreaming of diverting it to the services of Shakespeare and the great dramatic writers. For pantomime and other "entertainments," gorgeous scenery; for the poetic drama—what? What says Tate Wilkinson (who knew) in his Memoirs, published in 1790? Writing of the very period we are now discussing, he remarks: "Also in the magnificence of theatres, the scenery and lighting are now beyond compare . . . Except in Mr. Rich's pantomimes, the public then had seldom any scenery that proved of advantage, so as to allure the eye:—But now frequently we have new scenery to almost every piece. It was very uncommon formerly for new plays to have more than what we term stock scenery:—There is one scene at Covent used from 1747 to this day in the Fop's Fortune, &c. which has wings and flat, of Spanish figures at full length, and two folding doors in the middle:—I never see those wings slide on but I feel as if seeing my old acquaintance unexpectedly." . . . After remarking

that many provincial theatres are now handsomer and better equipped than were the London theatres of an earlier date, Wilkinson concludes: "By this progress and embellishment of regular, handsome, well-ornamented theatres, with good scenery, wardrobe, and band . . . . we may be assured that these theatres are superior to those wherein Booth, Betterton and Cibber acted; for though Drury Lane was larger than the most of our present country theatres, yet forty years ago the audience part of those London theatres were very crazy, inconvenient, and not pleasing to the eye."

Yet we are surprised to find, in the 1744 list, a new Hall for Othello. There are other specific items: Macbeth's cave, the canopy in Richard II, a "pedestall" in Winter's Tale and a tomb in Timon. Aside from these the list leaves Shakespeare unheralded and unset. The Barry schedule of 1776 is hardly kinder to the bard. It includes a blasted heath for Macbeth and a cut wood (for which scene, I wonder?) for Hamlet; special "pieces" are Juliet's tomb, as well as her bier, and a rostrum for Julius Cæsar. This small paragraph shows but scanty gleanings for a theatrical era of the importance of Garrick's!

It is not to be forgotten that until close to the beginning of the Twentieth Century similar stocks of scenery formed the mainstay of provincial theatres in England and America; only recently have travelling companies begun to carry about with them the scenery and properties for their own productions. In America the epochal visits of Henry Irving in 1883 and following years had much to do with bringing in the new order of things. Meantime, in the far-off year 1758, which I take to be the date of a pamphlet against Sheridan, setting forth the Case of the Stage in Ireland against a Bill for limiting the Number of Theatres in the City of Dublin, the scribe blandly sets forth the scenic requirements of a well-equipped stage. "It should be furnished," he maintains, "with a competent number of painted scenes to answer the purposes of all the plays in the stock . . . being easily reduced to the following classes. 1st,

Temples. 2dly, Tombs. 3dly, City walls and gates. 4thly, Outsides of palaces. 5thly, Insides of palaces. 6thly, Streets. 7thly, Chambers. 8thly, Prisons. 9thly, Gardens. And 10thly, Rural prospects of groves, forests, desarts," &c. All these should be done by a master, if such can be procured; "otherwise"—and this is unexpected, for the time and place—"they should be as simple and unaffected as possible, to avoid offending a judicious eye."

PAPAL TYRANNY

Among the productions of the Garrick period which may have received special scenic adornment are a few of more or less remote Shakespearian affiliation. Colley Cibber's Papal Tyranny in the Reign of King John was, it will be remembered, produced at Covent Garden in 1745. This performance was, to judge by the printed copy of the play, signalised by considerable scenic display, especially in processions, for which Rich was especially celebrated. The main scenes are in the camp near Angiers or at the French court, and may have been supplied from the stock-room, court and camp being basic ideas in most of the tragedies of the time; but Act V is filled with interesting scenic suggestion. For instance, in Scene I Arthur is on the Walls; according to the stage direction, "he leaps from the Walls, and is cover'd by a Parapet between his Body and the Audience"—evidently a low wing, specially set up. The second scene is "a Rome [room] of State. Enter in Procession (to solemn Musick) Pandulph, preceeded [*sic*] by Clergy, &c. of several Orders. Then the Nobles and Officers of State before King John, (supported by two Abbots) wearing his Crown and Robes. Pandulph being seated, the King with the Abbots kneel to him." These stately processions and groupings—again let me assert—were more precious than much scenery, and must have cost less trouble and money.

The next scene of the last act is a Field. Soon, "the Scene opening discovers the funeral Ceremony of Arthur,

moving towards Swinstead Abbey to a Dead-March; Lady Constance with the Abbot and Mourners Attending." All this is very little to rake out of the past, but I believe, nevertheless, that it gives us an idea of the essential quality of the production of Cibber's play.

ROMEO AND JULIET

With it we enter on a long line of pomp and circumstance in the way of processions. The prompt-books of the time are so explicit that I believe they must exactly represent what audiences found to delight eye and ear in the actual representation. The elements of the funeral of Juliet in Garrick's performance of the great love-tragedy are given in the printed copy in Garrick's works. Contrary to my expectations, formed from a casual reading of contemporary references, the procession takes place in a church or chapel, into which enter the participants, while a dirge for chorus and solo voices is sung. No indication is vouchsafed as to numbers taking part in the ceremony, or as to their rank in life.

This funeral of Juliet awakened various sensations in its day; the best opinion felt its inappropriateness. Francis Gentleman, however, in the Dramatic Censor, 1770, speaks thus: "Though not absolutely essential, nothing could be better devised than a funeral procession, to render this play thoroughly popular; as it is certain, that three-fourths of every audience are more capable of enjoying sound and shew, than solid sense and poetical imagination; stage-pageantry cannot be very pleasant at any time to judicious taste, but, if at all commendable, it is upon this occasion."

Tate Wilkinson informs us that during the twin-rival productions of the play in September, 1750, "Mr. Rich's procession was very grand, and in those spectacles he never had been equalled, nor can be surpassed; but Garrick did not promise any procession or dirge in his bills, tho' they gave a striking effect and an agreeable surprise." (Wilkinson is trying to say here that Garrick did not promise a

procession, and therefore the one he gave came as a pleasant surprise to the audience.)

Mrs. Bellamy states that Rich was still very proud of this procession, when, on her return to Covent Garden, she made her début as Juliet. Pleased by the "concourse of people that crouded for seats," she observed this to him "with a great deal of pleasure. 'Yes, Mistress!' he answered shortly, 'but it is owing to the *procession.*'" So this is about all the spectacle the great love-tragedy was favoured with. And Garrick, according to the same narrator, "tried to stem the current of our success by purchasing a *new Bell* at an enormous expence; but finding that its harmonious notes during the procession did not congregate the numbers he expected," he used it to toll for the execution of Pierre in Venice Preserved.

If Gentleman liked this scene, it was strongly censured by other critics. The Universal Museum or Gentleman's and Ladies Polite Magazine of History, Politicks and Literature [lovely title!] for October, 1762, in the course of a long and interesting review of the performances of Romeo and Juliet at the theatres takes occasion to utter a protest: "I now proceed to consider the grand funeral dirge, which is introduced at both houses with a rival magnificence and ostentation, of which I do not doubt, but the managers took the hint from the concluding lines of the fourth act. Accordingly, a long procession of monks, friars, &c. &c. &c. accompanied with musick, is made to pass over the stage. But what end is all this pomp, shew, and farce to answer? If it be calculated to please the eye and ear only, and not designed to have a proper tragical effect on the mind of the audience, nor contribute to the carrying out of the *denouement* of the plot, it is absurd and truly ridiculous."

CORIOLANUS

Thomson's Coriolanus was produced at Covent Garden in 1749, and a Coriolanus formed from a mingling of Thomson and Shakespeare at the same house in 1754, the latter

GARRICK AND MISS BELLAMY AS ROMEO AND JULIET
From an Engraving by Ravenet after a painting by Wilson, 1763

GARRICK AND MRS. PRITCHARD IN MACBETH
From a Mezzotint by Green after a painting by Zoffany, 1776

being anticipated by a revival of Shakespeare's play at Drury Lane. All these were celebrated with pomp and ceremony, and were evidently triumphs of stage-mounting and stage-management in their day.

From Thomson's Coriolanus as printed, I cull some interesting stage directions:

Act I—Scene IV.

The back scene opens and discovers Coriolanus as described above (i. e.

> Has plac'd himself upon your sacred hearth,
> Beneath the dread protection of your *Lares;*
> And sits majestic there in solemn silence.)

Act II, Scene VI.

The back scene opens, and discovers the deputies of the Volscian States, assembled in council. They rise and salute Coriolanus; then resume their places.

Act III, Scene III

The back scene opens, and discovers Coriolanus sitting on his tribunal, attended by his lictors, and a croud of Volscian officers. Files of troops drawn up on either hand. In the depth of the scene appear the deputies from the Roman senate, M. Minucius, Posthumus Cominius, Sp. Lartius; P. Pinnarius, and Q. Sulpitius, all consular senators, who had been his most zealous friends. And behind them march the priests, the sacrificers, the augurs, and the guardians of the sacred things, drest in their ceremonial habits. These advance slowly, betwixt the files of soldiers, under arms. As Tullus enters, Coriolanus rising salutes him:

Coriolanus is seated again, and Tullus places himself upon a tribunal on his left hand. Mean time the Roman deputies advance up to Coriolanus and salute him, which he returns.

Act V, Scene I.

The scene discovers the camp, a croud of Volscian officers with files of soldiers, drawn up as before. Enter Coriolanus, Tullus, Galesus, Volusius. The Roman ladies advance slowly from the depth of the stage, with Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, and Volumnia, his wife at their head, all clad in habits of mourning. Coriolanus stands at the head of the Volsci, surrounded by his lictors; but, when he perceives his mother and wife, after some struggle, he advances, and goes hastily to embrace them.

I do not see what more is necessary to convey an idea of the thing attempted. Fortunately, the Universal Maga-

zine in the year of the production published an illustration, from the play, which may represent something like the authentic stage-setting. Is the interior scene in the left-hand corner an inset, representing another scene? Compare the well-known print of Quin as Coriolanus in the same play, which I offer instead of the scene from the magazine, just mentioned; somehow, it awakens more belief in its authenticity.

Tate Wilkinson, writing in the Mirror; or, Actor's Tablet, in the fourth volume of his Memoirs, speaks of the two rival productions of Coriolanus in the season of 1754–55: Of Drury Lane, he says "And Coriolanus was got up; in which character Mr. Mossop raised his reputation. Mr. Garrick was a quick general, and it is most probable Mr. Mossop would not have had the luck of the play being produced at such expence, but that Mr. Garrick was eager to get the start of the rival theatre, where it was preparing with infinite pomp and splendour. The very idea of a triumphal procession at Covent-Garden, struck terror to the whole host of Drury, however big they looked and strutted on common occasions." Of the performance of the hybrid Thomson-Shakespeare play at Covent Garden probably adapted and certainly acted by the elder Sheridan, Wilkinson succinctly states that it was revived (he evidently regarded it as entirely Shakespeare) "with great pomp." Fortunately, for this mingling or mangling of Sheridan's we have the order of the procession, as printed in the prompt-copy of 1755. This is published in the Preface to the work, and reads as follows:

> Underneath, is the order of the Ovation, as it was exhibited.
>
> But, previous to that, there was a civil procession from the Town, consisting of Priests, Flamens, Choristers, Senators, Tribunes, Matrons, and the Mother, Wife, and Child of Coriolanus. These walked to the sound of flutes and soft instruments, and lined the way to behold the military entry, and congratulate the victor. The ovation was performed to the sound of fifes and trumpets, in the following order:
>
> Six Lictors
> One Carrying a small Eagle
> Six Incense-bearers

Four Souldiers
Two Fifes
One Drum
Two Standard-bearers
Ten Souldiers
Two Fifes
One Drum
Two Standard bearers
Six Souldiers
Two Standard-bearers
Four Serpent Trumpets
Four carrying a Bier with Gold and Silver Vases, Part of the Spoil
Two Souldiers
Two Standard-bearers
Four carrying another Bier with a large Urn and Four Vases
Four Soldiers carrying a Bier loaden with Trophies, Armour, Ensigns, &c., taken from the Enemy
Five Souldiers with mural and civick Crowns
Four Captive Generals in Chains
One Carrying a small Eagle
Twelve Lictors preceding the two Consuls

M. Minucius — C. Cominius

Coriolanus

A standard-bearer with a drawing of Corioli — Another Standard-bearer with the name of Corioli wrote on the Banner

Two Carrying a large Eagle
Four Standard-bearers
Twelve Souldiers
In the military Procession alone, independent of the Civil, there were an hundred and eighteen persons.

Of Garrick's onslaught on Shakespeare's pastoral or fairy comedies—A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Winter's Tale and The Tempest—in the years 1755 and 1756, I regret to say that the scenic details, in printed versions or reviews of that day or reminiscences of actors, are not so much meagre as non-existent. I cannot find a word about this feature, though I suspect possibilities in this direction weighed with Garrick in selecting the pieces in such quick succession for such treatment. Of course music and dancing played a great part in the performance. Tate Wilkinson is distressingly reticent; for The Tempest only does he give

us any clue. "It was dreadfully heavy," he says. "It went through with great labour eight nights, but not without the aid of the garland dance, well performed by sixty children, at the end of the second act, and the pantomime of Fortunatus, or the Genii, after that."

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA

More definite word comes from the past concerning the mounting of the tragedy of Antony and Cleopatra, in 1759. On this—one of the failures of his career—Garrick spent time and money. Though I suspect the "decorations" and "habits" were neither very Egyptian nor very Roman, I cannot doubt that, such as they were, they were carefully considered. The printed copy of the play is unusually specific in scene-plotting. In the first act we are in "a Room in Cleopatra's Palace," then in "Another Room," and finally in still "Another Room in the same." All this, of course, is in Alexandria; but in Rome we visit, first, "a Room in Cæsar's House," and, soon thereafter, one in "Lepidus' House." I wonder how many of these apartments were newly-painted? The manipulators of "flats" were, in any case, kept busy; all the cited changes occur before the middle of the second act.

The third scene of that act takes us "Aboard Pompey's Galley off Misenum. Under a Pavilion upon Deck, a Banquet set out: Musick: Servants attending." "Musick" plays again, and finally one sings "Come thou monarch of the vine," expanded to two stanzas. I believe that Garrick, like his successors in the Nineteenth Century, arranged some pretty effects in this episode.

In the later part of the play we are hurried from "Antony's Camp," through "a Plain between both Camps," (on which enters "Canidius, marching with his Land-army, one Way; and Taurus, the Lieutenant of Cæsar, with his, another way") until we arrive at "Cæsar's Tent." But, in intervals of the journey, we are whisked back, by magic, to the palace at Alexandria.

My imagination is excited by four views in Act IV: "Under the Walls of Alexandria," "Gates of Alexandria," "Hills without the City" and "The Monument." These I picture as not only fine, but new. Moreover, hints at pageantry spring from the book of the play. At the beginning of the tragedy, "Flourish. Enter Antony, Cleopatra, and their Trains, Eunuchs fanning her." And for her death, the queen "Goes to a Bed, or Sopha, which she ascends; her Women compose her on it: Iras sets the Basket, which she has been holding upon her own Arm, by her." In reading these old directions, I somehow transport myself to that far-away spectacle, and find it "differing," to use Aaron Hill's expression, from what I might have witnessed the week before at Drury Lane, or, indeed, the week after. But the production was a failure; perhaps the scene shifted too often for conservative followers of the unities!

HENRY VIII

In 1762 Henry VIII was published "as it is Performed at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane," with the Coronation of Anne Bullen. Mrs. Inchbald's version, as performed at Covent Garden, was published many years later. Her prompt-book calls for the Christening of Princess Elizabeth. Though it does not belong to the period now under discussion, I beg leave to print these two bits of pageantry side by side, to show how little, in ideal, the spectacle of 1808 or thereabouts surpassed that called for in 1762.

In 1762	In Mrs. Inchbald's version
ACT IV—Scene I:	ACT V—Scene IV:
1. The Queen's Herb-woman, Strewing Flowers	Palace Yard. Procession of the Christening
2. Her six Maids, two and two, ditto	Flourish of Drums and Trumpets
3. The Beadle of Westminster	A Herald
The High Constable	Two Guards
4. One playing on the Fife	Ditto } Drawn Swords
5. Four Drums, two and two	Ditto
	Ditto

6. The Drum Major
7. Four Trumpets, two and two
8. Kettle Drums
9. Four Trumpets, two and two
10. Sergeant Trumpet
11. Two Civilians
12. Four King's Chaplains, two and two
13. Two Masters in Chancery
14. Two Tipstaves
15. Two Judges
16. Two Aldermen
17. Lord Mayor
18. Two Esquires of the Houshold [*sic*]
19. Four Boys of the Choir
20. Sergeant of the Vestry
    Sergeant Porter of the Palace
21. Four Choristers, two and two
22. Five Boys of the Choir of King's Chapel
23. Two Bishops
24. Master of the Jewel House
25. Six Privy Counsellors, not Peers
26. The Vice Chamberlain
27. Two Heralds
28. Bath King at Arms
29. Four Knights of the Bath, two and two
30. Two Knights of the Garter
31. Two Heralds
32. Two Baronesses
33. Two Barons
34. Two Viscountesses
35. Two Viscounts
36. Two Countesses
37. Two Earls
38. Two Dutchesses
39. Two Dukes
40. The Lord Chancellor
41. Dukes of Aquitain and Normandy

Two Trumpets
Two ditto
Two Drums
Two ditto
} *Playing*

Two Gentlemen
Ditto
Two Aldermen
Lord Mayor
Two Gentlemen
Ditto
Two Judges
Ditto
Ditto
Sergeant at Arms, with Mace—Sword-bearer—Sword of State
Attorney General
Solicitor General
Cromwell
Two Priests, with Silver Crosses
Gardiner
Two Bishops
Ditto
Ditto

[*Grand Anthem Sung*
[*Flourish of Drums and Trumpets*
[*Cannon*

Lord Chamberlain
The King and Cranmer
Capucius
Sir H. Guildford, carrying a Golden Bowl and Cover
Sir Thomas Lovel, with a lighted Taper
Earl of Surrey, carrying a Silver Salver with Salt
Duke of Norfolk, Marshal's Staff
Duke of Suffolk, High Steward—the Wand

[*Flutes play*

Lady Denny
Two Ladies
Ditto
Two Girls
Ditto
Ditto
} *strewing Flowers*

42. Two Officers of the Houshold [*sic*]
43. The Lord High Chamberlain
44. Two Gentlemen Ushers
45. The Archbishop of Canterbury
46. The Bishop of London and Lincoln
47. Four Gentlemen Pensioners
48. The Queen, the Canopy, supported by four Barons of the Cinqueports
49. Five Ladies as Trainbearers
50. A Dutchess as Mistress of the Wardrobe
51. Eight Ladies of the Bedchamber, two and two
52. Captain of the Guards
53. Lieutenant and Ensign of the Guards
54. Six Beef-eaters

The Canopy, supported
Duchess of Norfolk and the Princess
Two Pages, bearing the Duchess's train
Lady Mary of Norfolk, bearing the Chrysome
Two Ladies
Ditto
Two Gentlemen
Ditto

[*Drums and Trumpets*

A Herald
Two Trumpets
Two Ditto
Two Drums
Two Ditto
Two Guards
Ditto
Ditto
Ditto

[*Drums, Trumpets and Wind Instruments.*

The Westminster Magazine, in the usual introductory pamphlet prefixed to the volume beginning January, 1773, speaks contemptuously of the continuance of the procession at Covent Garden: "*Harry the Eighth* followed this Entertainment, dressed up and entirely *à la mode*. It was selected from the numerous List of Shakespear's Plays, because it exhibited the most numerous Pageantry. It was no secret to Mr. C. (Colman) that he had not one Actor in his house who could well support one character in this difficult piece: But these secondary Considerations have no place in his System of Practice." Verily the critics were hard to please; and how they pretended to hate spectacle!

On concluding this piece of pageantry and procession, I beg to say that a reading through the theatrical advertisements in the Public Advertiser for 1767 and 1768 will show to what extremes and how consistently the public was regaled. Romeo and Juliet is advertised at Drury Lane on September 21, 1767, "with the *Funeral Procession*. The

Vocal Parts by Mr. Vernon, Mr. Champnes, Miss Young, Mr. Baddeley, Mrs. Dorman, &c. Act I, a Masquerade Dance and a Minuet by Sig. Giorgi and Mrs. Palmer (Juliet)." Throughout this age and that of Kemble these two features are stressed in any announced performance of Romeo and Juliet. The very next evening at Drury Lane (September 22nd) Cymon is scheduled "with a Grand Procession of the Knights of the different Orders of Chivalry, and the Shepherds of Arcadia."

But what of Covent Garden? The very same night of September 22nd, it advertises the popular Smith in Henry V, "to which will be added the Procession from the *Abbey* at the *Coronation*, with the Representation of *Westminster Hall*, and the *Ceremony of the Champion*." The following evening came King John, with new Dresses and Decorations, and the same ceremony and procession of the Coronation. On December 22nd, Covent Garden announces The Roman Father, and "in Act IV will be the Triumphal Entry of *Publius*. The Vocal Parts by Mr. Du Bellamy" and others too numerous and unimportant to specify. Drury Lane, on October 7, 1768, offers The Rival Queens, "with the Triumphal Entry of Alexander into Babylon."

OTHER SHAKESPEARIAN PERFORMANCES

The reader, impatient, will begin to ask what all this "processioning" has to do with the topic in hand; what of scenery? The answer is pathetically brief—there is nothing particular to be found. I will offer this from the operatic Tempest of 1756: "Act I. Scene I. The Stage darkened—represents a cloudy sky, a very rocky coast, and a ship on a tempestuous sea"; or this from the printed copy of Cumberland's Timon of Athens (1771): "Scene. The prospect of a wild country, to a considerable extent, with the ruins of a temple to Faunus, Timon is discovered at the extremity of the stage led in by Flavius: At the same moment Evanthe enters at the front, surveys him some time, and while he slowly advances, speaks." Truly this is not

much. It happens, however, that of this very piece, I can adduce further evidence from the Theatrical Review, etc., edited in 1772 by a "Society of Gentlemen, Independent of Managerial Influence." "The new Scenes," it declares, "are well executed, and the Dresses are pleasingly imagined; nor is the illumination in Timon's hall inconsistent with that ostentatious *Athenian's* extravagance and love of splendour. The truth and perfection of Theatrical Representations, in a great measure, depends on proper Decorations; otherwise all that the Player can inculcate will prove ineffectual. In this particular, even envy must allow, Mr. *Garrick* has generally discovered great judgment; and, we recollect few instances of his erring with respect to this point; which is more than we can say of any other Manager within our knowledge.—Scenery and Decorations are very important auxiliaries, to the keeping up the illusion, and carrying on an appearance of reality in Theatrical Representations. But it requires great Knowledge to introduce them properly; because they should never engross the attention in an Audience, which is primarily due to the Player."

SHAKESPEARE IN THE LAST YEARS OF GARRICK

This very intelligent criticism strikes a new note—at least in my experience—with regard to this important detail of management. Its testimony, just on the eve of Garrick's engagement of De Loutherbourg as chief scenic artist at Drury Lane, is particularly significant. Perhaps Garrick was facing an awakened public artistic conscience. It was in 1773 that Macklin dressed Macbeth in Scotch habits.

The next year, the prologue to A Romance of an Hour, produced at Covent Garden, shows that the public were now demanding a good deal in the mounting of even the stock Shakespearian repertoire. Its reference to devices for producing stage effects is both illuminating and amusing. I confess I do not quite understand the "smart-

shower of heart exploring tin," though I cheerfully offer as a hint Garrick's line in his prologue to The School for Lovers (1762) "When tin cascades, like falling waters gleam." But to give the lines of 1774:

> To night good friends, tho' led a little dance,
> Thro' the light mazes of an hour's romance,
> No spells, no speches have you cause to dread,
> Not one poor thunder rumbles o'er your head;
> Nor will the tempest howling thro' the trees,
> Once rouse your horror—with a storm of pease.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Shakespeare is great—is exquisite—no doubt—
> But then our carpenters must help him out:
> The deep distresses of a mad'ning Lear,
> In vain would ask the tributary tear,
> If, midst the fury of the midnight sky,
> Our rosin lightnings did not aptly fly,
> And pity warmly plead to be let in,
> Thro' a smart-shower of heart exploring tin.—
>
> . . . . . .
>
> When Hamlet weeping for a murder'd sire,
> Upbraids his mother with a guilty fire,
> Tho' ev'ry line a plaudit should command,
> Not one god yonder will employ his hand,
> But, cas'd in canvas, let the dead stalk in,
> Then the loud pæans—then the claps begin—
>
> . . . . . .
>
> To dear Mackbeath, the learned ladies all run,
> What to enjoy?—the flaming of the cauldron.
> And Molly Dripping there, so sleek and mild,
> (As good a cook as e'er drest roast or boil'd)
> What in all *Julet* makes her soonest veep?
> She'll say the fun'ral—'Tis so werry deep!

So Shakespeare, by 1774, was receiving some scenic attention, but not from De Loutherbourg. The effort of the latter, throughout his connection with Garrick, was directed wholly to the decoration of new tragedies, generally of Greek or Oriental setting, or of the entertainments, pantomimes and musical pieces so voraciously demanded by

the public. But in 1777, as we learn from the Westminster Magazine for January, Shakespeare at last was granted the supreme honour of a scenic setting by the great painter. From the article about to be quoted, I judge that Garrick never employed De Loutherbourg on the immortal man, no drop of whom it was his professed desire to spill. According to the magazine just mentioned:

> On Saturday, January 4, Shakespeare's *Tempest* was revived at this theatre [Drury Lane].
>
> We are glad our new Managers [this was the winter following Garrick's retirement] turn their attention to the plays of Shakespeare. The principal talents at Drury Lane appear to be those of Mr. de Loutherbourgh, and of Mr. Linley, whose intention seems to be to throw an enchantment suited to the childish taste of the present times over the entertainments of the Theatre. They begun with absurdity and nonsense, by accident we suppose, and now they turn their thought to Shakespeare. As their operations for the present season are to consist of expedients and shifts, we congratulate them on having thought of Shakespeare. But we did not know his works wanted *reviving* from the thrilling touch of *sentimental Sheridan*, the surprising talents of the musical Linley, or even the pencil of a Loutherbourgh. However, Shakespeare's works may serve our Managers as a school; and when they have revived a few of his plays, they may possibly acquire taste and knowledge enough for the most important part of their business. The music and dancing in the *Tempest* were rendered too consequential, they took up too much time, and made the whole tedious.

In March—two months later—the same magazine printed a picture of Mr. Mattocks and Miss Brown as Ferdinand and Miranda, a reproduction of which appears in the second volume of our history. The costumes are so funny, they must be true; by extension of the rule of probability, I am disposed to believe that the background may represent something like De Loutherbourg's design.

SOME GARRICK SPECTACLES

We are forced, from lack of material, to leave the discussion of the staging of Shakespeare during the Garrick period. We have some information, at least, concerning

the scenery of certain new plays produced during these important years, and part of that I will cite, as throwing some light on what may have been done with Shakespeare himself. We must never forget that all through the age Rich was providing more and more elaborate effects in pantomime and opera, while Garrick was letting loose his invention on the devising of processions and gala celebrations.

The first of these great expensive shows of Garrick's fancy was The Chinese Festival produced on November 8, 1755, and withdrawn by force of mob riot against it, after the sixth performance. The second "big" attempt was The Coronation, got up after the coronation of George III in 1761; an attempt in which Garrick was greatly excelled by Rich at Covent Garden. I cannot do better, in this connection, than quote from Davies's Life of Garrick:

> The coronation of their Majesties, in September 1761, was followed by a stage representation of it at both the playhouses. This had been the usual practice on such occasions. . . .
>
> Mr. Garrick knew very well that Rich would spare no expence in the presentation of his shew: he knew too that he had a taste in the ordering, dressing, and setting out these pompous processions, superior to his own; he therefore was contented with reviving the Coronation with the old dresses which had been often occasionally used from 1727 to 1761. This shew he repeated for nearly forty nights successively, sometimes at the end of a play, and at other times after a farce. The exhibition was the meanest, and the most unworthy of a theatre, I ever saw. The stage indeed was opened into Drury-lane; and a new and unexpected sight surprised the audience, of a real bone-fire, and the populace huzzaing, and drinking porter to the health of Queen Anne Bullen. The stage, in the meantime, amidst the parading of dukes, dutchesses, archbishops, peeresses, heralds, &c. was covered with a thick fog from the smoke of the fire, which served to hide the tawdry dresses of the processionalists. During this idle piece of mockery, the actors being exposed to the suffocations of smoke, and the raw air from the open street, were seized with colds, rheumatisms, and swelled faces. At length the indignation of the audience delivered the comedians from this wretched badge of nightly slavery. . . . Tired with the repeated insult of a show which had nothing to support it but gilt copper and old rags, they fairly drove the exhibitors of it from the stage by hooting and hissing, to the great joy of the whole theatre. . . . .

Rich, notwithstanding the expectations of the public had been much raised, fully satisfied their warmest imaginations. Such a profusion of fine cloaths, of velvet, silk, sattin, lace, feathers, jewels, pearls, &c. had not been seen upon any stage. The scenery, music, and other ornaments were all correspondent to the grandeur of the ceremony, which was shewn to crowded houses for nearly two months.

Mr. Rich, who was a perfect master of everything which related to theatrical effect from splendour of dress and magnificence of decoration, had taken uncommon pains with this Coronation, and lived just long enough to be pleased with the success of his labour; he died during the heighth of the public eagerness to see it.

The third vagary I shall speak of was Garrick's famous Shakespeare Jubilee, which had a run of ninety nights at Drury Lane, following the celebration at Stratford in September, 1769. According to a note in the second edition of Davies's Life of Garrick, the piece opened with a number of comic scenes involving rustic characters at Stratford, and ended with the grand jubilee procession, made up of scenes and characters from over twenty of Shakespeare's best-known plays, each group "preceded by persons properly habited, bearing streamers of various colours, on which were inscribed the names of the several performances." Half-way down the procession was "the Comic Muse seated on a magnificent car, drawn by Satyrs, and attended by the different characters of the ancient Comedy." At the end of the line was Apollo with his lyre, followed by "the Tragic Muse on a triumphal car, surrounded by Calliope, Clio, Erato, Euterpe, Polyhymnia, Terpsichore, and Urania." At the very last, "the figure of Shakspere, from his monument in Westminster Abbey, with emblematical ornaments, and a numerous train of attendants, closed the procession."

All this is finished in a "grand room, decorated with transparent pictures. Shakspere crowned with laurels, supported by the tragic and comic Muses, is seen at the extremity of the stage; the principal characters of his plays are ranged on each side." I may say, in conclusion, that there is a very charming picture of Mrs. Yates and Mrs. Abington as the Tragic and the Comic Muse, respectively.

A FEW NON-SHAKESPEARIAN PRODUCTIONS

Procession! procession! procession! Shall we never find scenery in our search through the period? As to the mounting of new tragedies—whatever was done with the old—we gather a few hints scattered through the writings of the time. Of Irene, the colossal failure of Johnson, produced at Drury Lane on February 6, 1749, Davies's Life of Garrick states:

> Soon after the acting of Romeo and Juliet, Johnson's Irene was put into rehearsal. Mr. Garrick seemed to embrace the interest of this tragedy with a cordiality which became the friendship which he professed to the author; in the giving out of the parts, he was extremely accurate, to a degree of anxiety. The principal characters were divided between himself, Barry, Mrs. Pritchard and Mrs. Cibber; and the subordinate ones were given to Berry, Havard, Sowdon and Burton. The dresses were rich and magnificent, and the scenes splendid and gay, such as were well adapted to the inside of a Turkish seraglio; the view of the gardens belonging to it was in the taste of eastern elegance.

Just what an Eighteenth-Century idea of "eastern elegance" may have been, our clouded minds are left to doubt. For Arthur Murphy's adaptation of Voltaire's Orphan of China, produced by Garrick on April 21, 1759, something similarly Oriental must have been attempted. The captious author, in his Life of Garrick, admits that "the manager prepared a magnificent set of Chinese scenes and the most becoming dresses." Praise from that particular Sir Author is praise indeed. In writing to Garrick concerning the production of his Grecian Daughter the irritable Murphy once more expresses gratitude for the production, and states he was not "fobbed off with a patched palm-tree." This was in 1772, when new scenes for new plays had almost become the order of the day.

These scanty records are of actualities. I wonder if Garrick carried out, for Aaron Hill's Merope, the beatific vision indicated in Hill's letter to him under date of July 11,

1749, when Garrick had decided to stage the tragedy? Hill rewrote the play to fit the scene, and says he, in a passage I have already quoted in part, "'twill call for all the pencil's art, to fill the temple (through side-openings, seen twixt columns, standing separate from the slanted scenes, which are to be set back as far as possible) with such significantly busied groupes of interested people, as were spoken of in the description, and to lessen off their view, in gradual depth of *keeping*, so as to extend the prospect with scarce a sensible distinction, from the *real* life, before and near the *altar;* such, as the kneeling queen and prostrate guards, together with the priests and virgins . . . while the bleeding bodies of the tyrant, and of Erox, should be seen above their heads, as fallen, in different attitudes, upon the footsteps of the altar, that Eumenes stands on. . . . You was born with genius for dramatic beauties; and this scene, as you conceive it, may be made the most magnificent, that ever closed a Tragedy."

Whether or not it became the most magnificent scene, Hill's writing has made it to us the clearest of all those faded splendours of the past. We can see that colonnade, that altar, and those groups of people. As to these last, does the reader perceive, as I seem to do, that many of them were painted on the scenes, and had to "lessen off . . . with scarce a sensible distinction . . . from the real life?" So late as the '90's a letter of Tate Wilkinson's shows us that in a spectacle at Sadler's Wells, many of the figures in the procession were of pasteboard!

Garrick, however, generally had his eye on what critics called "fripperies." According to Davies, "when Mr. Garrick set out on his travels [in 1763] he did not leave his theatre unprovided . . . he engaged Pompeio, an Italian singer, . . . and he recommended . . . . the performing of some musical pieces, and such sort of stage entertainment chiefly as would please the sight and charm the ear. The joint labours of the machinist, the painter, and the musician, with a very small portion of the poet's art, he knew

would produce a considerable effect upon an audience such as the English, which is composed of all ranks and degrees of people."

If some of this attention had been bestowed on the work of Shakespeare! But who can blame Garrick? The public would have flocked to see him, then as now, play Hamlet, Lear and Macbeth on a bare stage; then, as we should now, they tolerated worn scenery and costumes for these plays, where they demanded splendour for Irene and its whole hundred (I should guess) of succeeding frigid Oriental tragedies. Students of the theatre will recall a contemporary satirical print representing Garrick turning from the comic and tragic muses, and listening to the mechanician, the carpenter and the scene-painter, the while he ruthlessly treads on the works of Shakespeare, Jonson and Rowe. This print is from The Theatre, a Poetical Dissection, by Sir Nicholas Nipclose, 1772. Thus it struck his critics.

DE LOUTHERBOURG AND PANTOMIME

In the decade of the '70's De Loutherbourg was directing the scenic department at Drury Lane. His best efforts were devoted to pantomime and "entertainment" or "feerie"; but that he also "decorated" certain still-born tragedies is evidenced by reviews in the Westminster Magazine. The issue for February, 1774, says of the production of Colonel Dow's Sethona, which it calls "the most tragical tragedy we ever remember to have seen tragedized" —"the Dresses, Scenery and Decorations of this Play were equal, if not superior to those of any modern Tragedy. The scene of the Temple of Osiris, and the View of the Egyptian Catacombs in particular, did great credit to Mr. Loutherberg, by whom they were executed." Again, in October of the same year, concerning the new tragedy of Electra: "The perspective scenery of *Argos*, the palace of *Ægisthus*, and the tomb of Agamemnon, designed by *Loutherbourgh* and painted by Messrs. *French* and *Ray*, were warm and spirited, and the dresses elegant and characteristic." In November,

SCENE FROM A CHRISTMAS TALE. BY DE LOUTHERBOURG, 1776
From the Harvard Theatre Collection

1774, the same magazine declares that The Maid of the Oaks was "preserved from damnation" by "the very excellent scenery of the ingenious Mr. Louterbourg." Evidently the critic of the magazine extracted a subtle joy from the variety of spelling he gave to the name of the artist he so highly praised.

I will close this cycle of praise to De Loutherbourg with a notice from the Westminster of October, 1776: "The *Christmas Tale,* altered by Mr. Garrick, has been introduced as an after-piece at Drury-lane. Though greatly shortened, it still contains nothing; and we were sorry to see the genius and abilities of Mr. Loutherbourg so misemployed; and we could not help wishing that the talents of this man, instead of being used to save paltry things from damnation, were united to those of Shakespeare, to astonish or to enchant us into virtue." Yet the reader will recall that only three months later, in January, 1777, the same magazine, the same writer probably, turned on Drury Lane for devoting the talents of De Loutherbourg to decorating The Tempest. Verily, the critics of those days were not only an *irritabile,* but an *impossibile* genus! On the opposite page will be found De Loutherbourg's own drawing for a scene in The Christmas Tale. If anything approaching it was represented on the stage, in mass, composition and lighting, all I can say is that no audience since has ever seen anything more beautiful.

Perhaps, after all, it was only when Shakespeare began to "spell ruin"—when great actors had passed away, Garrick, Kemble and Edmund Kean—and only when the scholarly actor-managers of second-rate tragic genius like Macready, Phelps, Charles Kean and Irving arose, that the public seriously demanded scenery to make up for what it lost in the tragic fire and inspiration of the earlier interpreters.

At any rate, Garrick put great effort into his ephemeral productions. There was one grand "set-piece" for a "Feerie" which, according to Percy Fitzgerald (ii, 27), he got from Paris. This was in the first days of his manage-

ment. "It was called the Palace of Armida. The painted stones were put together, with handles at the back; these were drawn away from the bottom; thus the whole came down in ruins. Traps were opened" when the change of the fiery palace was commencing, "down which the facade began to descend, the groups of Graces changing also at the same moment, while from above were thrown down what seemed to be heavy beams of timber, but which were frames of wicker, covered with painted canvas. The conflagrations, however, were managed in a rather primitive fashion. Strings of tow were wound on long 'perches' held at all sides, and were set on fire; the car of *Medea* then crossed the stage, surrounded by little demons, carrying torches, and firing the palace. There was then 'a rain of fire,' made of sulphuric fireworks composition. . . . The rest of the effect was worked out with red agate-colored columns and 'gilt beams,' and a great deal of gilt moulding."

It will be observed that this supreme early effort was devoted to "trumpery." If, indeed, we would attain a complete idea of the possibilities of stage-craft in the Garrick period, we must turn to contemporary accounts, rare as they at first are, of the pantomime, for it was in this that the most astounding tricks, and the most glittering gauds were attempted. Rich, of course, became the great master of the art, and Drury Lane at best limped ineffectively behind.

RICH'S PANTOMIMES

Wilkinson, in his Mirror, or Actor's Tablet, in the fourth volume of his Memoirs highly commends the production of one of Rich's best pantomimes, Apollo and Daphne, in 1748: "The scene of the sun rising had a fine effect; and I am astonished so superb a constructed piece of machinery is not made use of now at Covent Garden, as introductory to some new pantomime: For the scene with Morpheus, Mystery, and Slumber, preparatory to the appearance of the sun in its meridian had a wonderful effect, and might be displayed in any other pantomime, and be a good opening

one: Also that of Daphne's being turned into a tree by the pursuit of Apollo, from the assenting nod of Silenus, the rising Dome, the Lion in Perseus, the Snake, &c. would make good incidents."

The next year came Perseus and Andromeda (the pantomimes at first had these classical subjects). The scenes were equally fine. "The scene of the Dragon," Wilkinson notes, "and Perseus on his flying horse, with Andromeda chained to the rock, the rising Dome, and the Lion, were the principal parts of the entertainment; and all done well, as was all pantomime business under the direction of Mr. Rich."

But now stage-tricks begin to play an increasing part: "This was the year of the quart-bottle conjuror, at the Haymarket; where the joke drew such a concourse at the expence of John Bull.—It turned out advantageously to the proprietor of Covent-Garden, as at the latter part of that season, Harlequin, to the amazement of crowded audiences, not only went into the quart bottle, but after that Don Jumpedo jumped down his own throat.—These exploits were performed by Harlequin Phillips." In 1752–53, Covent Garden began to engage many notable dancers and what we should now call vaudeville performers. "The Fair was again revived that year, to introduce Mr. Madox, the famous man on the wire. . . . . Saturday, January the thirteenth, the Sorcerer was again produced, and continued with almost equal effect, to the finishing of the season. It was helped by an additional fountain scene; the machinery of which I think, surpassed any pantomime quirk I remember, and should be now introduced." A scene from The Sorcerer is reproduced here; it represents Harlequin escaping from Pantaloon by disguising himself as a washerwoman. The set strikes me as a pretty one.

Probably this sort of entertainment, quite independent of scenery, formed the most attractive part of the show. In the last years of Garrick's *régime*, however, new scenery came to the fore, and one set after another was flashed across the bewildered vision, with all sorts of properties, masses of people, etc. The Westminster Magazine of Jan-

uary, 1774, has an admirable synopsis of scenes and events for the pantomime of The Sylphs, produced at Covent Garden on January 3rd:

> The first scene shews the Bay of Naples, which suddenly changes into a view of Dover Castle, where the principal Sylph, after a dance of young ones, introduces Harlequin. . . . The next scene is a grocer's shop, with the name *Hyson* wrote over the door, which is supposed to be the house of the father of Columbine; here Harlequin takes advantage of a window being open, and gets in: The next scene presents a view of the grocer and his family at breakfast, with Columbine's music and dancing-masters attending; in both of which professions she gives a specimen of her abilities.—Harlequin gets in, and carries her off. The next scene is a view of Fleet-ditch, Ludgate-hill, and St. Paul's, where Harlequin and Columbine, to avoid the pursuit, go into the Glove Tavern, where they are immediately after shewn in a room in that house at supper; they are hardly seated when they are advised by the waiter of the pursuit, when Harlequin puts his mistress into an under closet, throws open the folding doors of the upper part, whips off his harlequin coat, and appears in the habit of a waiter. Surprized at being disappointed, Pantaloon and his friend sit down to the remains of the supper, when, to their great surprize, the part of the floor they sit on gradually rises, till they are entirely out of the reach of being any further troublesome to the lovers, who now appear under them, and to whom they can do nothing but menace at a distance.
>
> The next principal scene is a house *to be lett* [*sic*] which Harlequin, being closely pursued, changes, by a stroke of his sword, into the outside of *Salmon's Royal Wax-works*, near Temple-bar; here a croud [*sic*] of country people, along with Pantaloon, go into the exhibition, when the next scene discovers the inside of it, with a variety of figures, under one of which Harlequin is, after some time, discovered, and makes his escape by leaping through the door.
>
> The next principal scene is an outside view of the Tower, which is succeeded by an inside one, giving a fine view of the foot armoury; here Harlequin is likewise pursued, and makes his escape by another feat of activity.—To this succeed many inferior scenes; after which the whole is concluded with a grand view of the palace of the King of the Sylphs, where the spirit of Persecution (the usual catastrophe of Pantomimes) stops, and Harlequin and Columbine are made happy in their love.

By this time, it will be observed, pantomime had settled down to its modern formula of many rapidly changing

SCENE FROM HARLEQUIN SORCERER, COVENT GARDEN

From a contemporary print

scenes, with a grand transformation to close the whole. Later days have insisted on more of these grand surprising full-stage finales—that is all. The principle is the same. Finally, let me quote the following surprising effect from the Westminster Magazine for November, 1775, concerning Queen Mab, at Drury Lane (Drury Lane, under De Loutherbourg and his able assistants, was now apparently eclipsing Covent Garden, in the production of these scenic affairs):

> On Saturday, the 9th instant, the Pantomime of *Queen Mab* was revived by the poor, industrious, painstaking Manager of this House, in order to introduce two scenes of the late *Rigatta* [*sic*], which we mentioned in our last to have been brought on the other Theatre: the last scene affords a picturesque view of the Thames from the Surry [*sic*] side to Ranelagh-gardens, representing the procession of barges, &c. of the different squadrons, previous to their landing the company. The effect produced by this united scenery and machinery was very pleasing; every barge appeared to be rowed to the time of the band of music which is supposed to be upon the water, and every man and oar keeps a regular stroke; the sky flat behind, was finely designed and executed for the general relief, and the disposition of the men and boats near shore, in the foreground, was beautiful, and did the painter great credit. The whole concluded with a Tar's song in character, by Mr. Bannister, and a dance by sailors and their doxies.

The marvels grew until the Westminster declared of The Wonders of Derbyshire, or Harlequin in the Peak, produced January 8, 1779, at Drury Lane, that Loutherbourg's scenery "surpasses anything we have ever seen."

DALL, RICHARDS, DE LOUTHERBOURG

The reader, perhaps tired of this account, may take a languid interest in the men who fashioned the scenic marvels of Garrick's day. The leading scene painter at Covent Garden for many of these later years was Nicholas Thomas Dall, a Danish artist who settled in London in 1760, and soon thereafter began to work for the theatre. His predecessors, we know, were Lambert and Harvey. Inigo Richards carried the reputation of the house to greater lengths. This only rival to De Loutherbourg died in 1810, a mem-

ber of the Royal Academy. In 1777 he succeeded Dall as principal scene-painter at Covent Garden, and held that post for many years. His scenery was very much admired, and one of the scenes from The Maid of the Mill was engraved by Woollett. This is the outdoor scene, before the mill, and is indeed lovely.

At Drury Lane it is fair to announce that Hayman continued for some time after his glories were sung in 1745 (see page 317). After him, French wielded the chief brush—as modern newspapers might say—at Drury Lane. Finally, after 1772 De Loutherbourg reigned supreme.

Born in Germany in 1740, this last-named great innovator passed his apprenticeship as a battle-painter in Paris, and in 1771 came to London, being engaged shortly after by Garrick, at a salary of £500 per annum, to superintend the scenery at Drury Lane, to provide one grand spectacle each year, and to supervise the machinery, lighting effects, etc.

An article on The Rise and Progress of Scene Painting in the Library of Fine Arts for May, 183[illegible], contains, old as it is, as much interesting information concerning the activities of this great decorator, as do the later essays of Mr. Austin Dobson or Dutton Cook. I cannot refrain from quoting entire the account of De Loutherbourg's début at Drury Lane:

> Garrick, soon after the arrival of De Loutherbourg, cognomened "prince of scene-painters," engaged that rare genius to superintend the scenic department of the boards of "Old Drury." The first exhibition of his inventive talent in this theatre was in the splendid representation of the Christmas Tale, wherein there was a fine field for the display of his knowledge of scenery, machinery, and all the pictorial concomitants of spectacle and stage effect. The fire-scene was beheld by the audience with astonishment; and the characteristic appearance of Draco and his demons, designed with that pictorial feeling which assimilated with the imaginative beings represented in the painted incantations of Salvator Rosa, and the Hellish Brenghel, electrified the audience with delight. This piece attracted all the world of taste, and every artist and connoisseur admitted that De Loutherbourg had proved that it was possible to render a dramatic scene completely illusive.

Satisfied with the advantage which appropriate scenery and its concomitant, suitable costume, were capable of rendering the stage, Garrick, with the assistance of his friend and intimate associate De Loutherbourg, set about a complete reformation of the wardrobe. Sir Joshua Reynolds and Mr. West, the celebrated historical painter were consulted on this proposed improvement, and strenuously recommended its adoption; and from this period the absurd and anomalous dresses of the performers gave way to a costume compatible with the respective *dramatis personæ* collected from the best antiquarian authorities as connected with the chronology and local attributes of the scene.

According to Dutton Cook, in Paint and Canvas, De Loutherbourg "found the scene a mere 'flat' of strained canvas extending over the whole stage. He was the first to use 'set scenes' and 'raking pieces' [i. e., mounds, elevations, etc., built up]. He also invented transparent scenes with representations of moonlight, sunshine, firelight, volcanoes, &c., and obtained new effects of colour by means of silken screens of various hues placed before the foot and side-lights. He discovered, too, that ingenious effects might be obtained by suspending gauzes between the scene and the spectators. . . . Distinctly the inventions of De Loutherbourg. . . . Garrick was much inclined for scenic decorations of a showy character, although as a rule he restricted these embellishments to the afterpieces, and for the more legitimate entertainments of his stage was content to emply old and stock scenery that had been of service in innunerable plays."

Evidence moe contemporary is that of John O'Keeffe, the dramatist, vhose Omai De Loutherbourg helped to decorate for Covelt Garden, from drawings of Webber, who had made a voyage with Captain Cook to the "newly-discovered islands in the southern hemisphere." Loutherbourg, says O'Keeffe, "planned the scenery. He had previously invented transparent scenery—moonshine, sunshine, fire, vocanoes, &c. as also breaking the scene into several pieces by the laws of perspective, showing miles and miles distance. Before his time, the back was one broad flat, the whole breadth and height of the stage."

This testimony from one who knew is invaluable as establishing the claims of De Loutherbourg as the inventor of "set" scenery on the English stage. O'Keeffe reiterates in a copy of very bad verses addressed "to Carver, Loutherbourg, and Richards, Scene-Painters to the Theatre-Royal, Covent-Garden":

> In pieces set, broad scene that seem'd so nigh,
> Thus spreading miles of distance to the eye;
> Opaque he made transparent on occasion,
> Volcano, sun-set, or conflagration.

In his Eidophusikon (and also to some extent at the theatre) he abandoned the unnatural system of a flaming row of footlights, and ranged his lamps above the proscenium, out of sight of the audience. Before his lamps, says Dutton Cook, he placed slips of stained glass, yellow, red, green, blue and purple; and by shifting these or happily combining them was enabled to tint his scenes so as to represent various hours of the day and different actions of light.

Various methods for simulating thunder, the firing of guns, reverberations, the rushing sound of waves, gusts of wind, sound of hail and rain, are minutely described by Cook, who says that they were distinctly the invention of De Loutherbourg. This is the man who revolutionised scene-painting and stage effects in England.

COST OF SCENERY

Meantime, something of the cost of preparing stock scenes in the later years of Garrick may be learned from letters included by Boaden in the Garrick Correspondence. A note of March 26, 1768, evidently from the managers of the theatre in Calcutta, and addressed to Captain Thomas Riddell, of Pocock, Calcutta, who was about to set sail for England, asks him, on his arrival in the mother-country to "request on our behalf, one of the Captains bound to

this port, to get a set of new scenes of the following dimensions, painted upon canvass, and bring them out in his privilege, we agreeing to allow him fifty per cent of the prime cost, viz.

2 Scenes 29 feet broad, 16 feet high,
3 do 26 do, 16 do do
2 do. 24 do, 16 do. do."

The utterly stock character of the scenes, implying a then universal usage for mounting all plays of the regular repertory, may be inferred from the directions that follow.

"We desire that one of the scenes twenty-nine feet broad may represent a street and the other a bed-chamber; one of the scenes of twenty-six feet a street, another a parlour, and the third a hall; one of the scenes of twenty-four feet a park with trees and the other a garden.

"If the time will permit for painting the full-length figures of Tragedy and Comedy, we request they may be added to the above commission"—no doubt to flank the proscenium as at Covent Garden Theatre, where they are to be noted in the picture of the Fitzgiggo riots.

A later memorandum of the Calcutta account gives the cost of this new spectacular glory:

	£ s. d.
"Mr. French's bill for painting scenes,	138, 12, 0
Mr. Sanderson's bills for Carpenter's work,	44—0—0"

Who French and Sanderson were is told beyond a peradventure in a brief note in the Universal Museum for August, 1765, to the effect that the new theatre at Richmond was designed by Mr. Sanderson, the machinist at Drury Lane, and "as to the scenes, they are the workmanship of the ingenious Mr. French, the scene-painter of Drury Lane house; and to the connoisseurs in that science a farther recommendation is unnecessary." These two—experienced painter and machinist—thus conjointly received over £182

for seven scenes of no great size; I do not, of course, know whether the "full length figures of Tragedy and Comedy" were included. £182 would to-day be worth—how many times as much?

A FINAL QUESTION

In conclusion, I should like to ask the reader to consider carefully the backgrounds of some of the illustrations standing as milestones along the latter part of our road. These have usually been discounted as evidence for scenery; but does not one somehow scent canvas and stage-wings in the grove amid which Mercutio-Woodward taps his nose (page 344), or in the tomb of the Capulets, enclosing the astonishing lovers of Garrick and Mrs. Bellamy? And what of the Gothic hall in which Mrs. Pritchard's Lady Macbeth points the way to her trembling lord? And Quin's Coriolanus (page 354)—does his very real arm-chair throne vouch for the reality of a towered "flat" behind him? I almost believe it does. If there is ground for such faith, how plain the setting (page 370) for The Merchant of Venice, with Macklin and Mrs. Pope (Miss Younge), in comparison with that to which later ages have become accustomed!

CHAPTER XVI

COSTUMES

TESTIMONY OF MRS. BELLAMY

In view of the character pictures of players of the Garrick period printed in this volume, it is unnecessary for me to dilate on the persistence on the stage of the habit of dressing most of the characters of Shakespeare in the mode of the actor's day. The attire of Garrick and Mrs. Pritchard in Macbeth, of Garrick and Mrs. Bellamy in Romeo and Juliet, will speak for itself. The reader has been regaled with the dress *à la Romaine* in the extraordinary iron stiffness of Quin's Coriolanus. The excessive circumambiency of Mrs. Yates's skirts in Lady Macbeth can be matched by the florescent modernity of Mrs. Hartley's Cleopatra (vol. ii).

The performers, in the prints adduced, were of course dressed in their very best; the general average of absurdity can be gathered from a reading of that very entertaining romance, An Apology for the Life of George Ann Bellamy. This authoress-actress, Garrick's young and beautiful Juliet in 1750, the crushed, broken-hearted beneficiary of 1784, avails herself of the privilege of her sex and reveals more of costume-convention on the middle and late Eighteenth-Century stage than does any of her male contemporaries. Of her début at Covent Garden in 1744–45 she states that Rich devised a "very effectual method" of cheering her; he took her to his mercer's and allowed her to choose the "cloaths" she was to appear in. "The dresses of the theatrical ladies," says the fair Bellamy, "were at this period very indifferent. The Empresses and Queens"—as in the age of Cibber—"were confined to black velvet, except on extraordinary occasions, when they put on an embroidered or tissue petticoat. The young ladies generally appeared

in a *cast* gown of some person of quality; and as at this epoch the women of that denomination were not blest with the taste of the present age, and had much more oeconomy; the stage brides and virgins often made their appearance in altered habits, rather soiled." The débutante to whom we are indebted for this information refers, therefore, with much pride to her first stage dress, "which was *simply elegant.*"

Managers were always kind to this beautiful creature. A year or two later in Dublin, she was to appear as Cleopatra in All for Love. The manager, in London the preceding summer, had purchased a "superb suit of cloaths that had belonged to the Princess of Wales, and had been worn by her on the birthday." This was made into a dress for Bellamy—very appropriate, the reader observes, for an Egyptian queen of eighteen hundred years before! A number of diamonds were sewed on, borrowed from the actress's friends among the gentry. But alas for well-laid plans! The rival actress, who was to play Octavia, walked off with the dress, as by some stage etiquette she seems to have had the right to do, and insisted on wearing it, "without considering the impropriety of enrobing a Roman matron in the habiliments of the Egyptian queen" (made the year before for an English princess, O hypercritical George Ann!). Bellamy, who, to do her justice, was more amused than annoyed at the whole proceeding, excuses her rival with the comment that she had just acquired taste enough to despise the black velvet in which heroines "were usually habited." Bellamy appeared before the audience merely in "white sattin," *sans* jewels and *sans reproche;* white satin being the usual robe of gentler, less tragic heroines, Juliet, etc., also of all "mad ladies," according to Sheridan's Critic. Bellamy as Octavia, to Woffington's Cleopatra, again wore "white sattin" in this play at Covent Garden, in the early 50's, this time appropriately to the character, she thinks.

The gorgeously gowned Bellamy had a much more formidable rival to face in those years when she and Peg Woffington quarrelled constantly behind the scenes of the stage

GARRICK AS RICHARD III

MRS. YATES AS LADY MACBETH

SPRANGER BARRY AS HOTSPUR

MRS. BARRY AS ROSALIND

Printed for Robert Sayer, 1769–73

they adorned. These squabbles are worth reading in and for themselves, but my purpose is satisfied in showing the debonair way in which costuming was regarded in the mid-Eighteenth Century. Woffington's hatred of her rival was fanned to fury by a circumstance not altogether ingenuously narrated by the latter. "I had during the summer," says Bellamy, "given *Madam Montete* wife of the hair dresser of the time, who was going to Paris, a commission to bring me from thence two tragedy dresses, the most elegant she could purchase. I have already observed that the proprietor allowed me a certain sum to find my own habiliments." Madam Montete, who was to consult great authorities in Paris, so successfully carried out her commission, that Bellamy doubtless had at the beginning of the season the two finest tragedy dresses in London. These were meant to be worn in any tragedy, but the owner decided to air one as Statira in Lee's Rival Queens, Woffington appearing as Roxana. Statira chose to appear the first night in that one of the new Parisian confections, "the ground of which was a deep yellow," and to which she added a purple robe. Poor Roxana was wearing another suit of the Princess of Wales, which Rich had just bought. "It was not," says Bellamy, "in the least soiled, and looked very beautiful by daylight, but being a straw-colour, it seemed to be a dirty white by candle-light; especially"—O Bellamy, Bellamy! of course you had not thought this out beforehand—"especially when my splendid yellow was by it." Woffington, enraged to madness, forbade Bellamy ever to wear that dress again in the play now acting. Bellamy at length agreed, and "the next night, I sported my other suit, which was more splendid than the former." The reader is referred to Mrs. Bellamy's superb account for the conclusion of this tempestuous history.

The point to be stressed in this vivacious narrative is the fact that cast suits of the Princess of Wales would serve for Egyptian Cleopatra or Asiatic Roxana; that either of the two costly new tragedy dresses was appropriate for Statira. Roman Octavia, likewise, could wear the simple "white

sattin" of the less tragic heroine; in other words, an evening gown of the year 1750 or thereabouts. Yet Bellamy seems to have had an inkling of what was fitting. For Cleone, she affected a simplicity in dress; "this was perfectly *nouvelle*, as I had presumed to leave off that unweildy part of a lady's habiliments, called a hoop," which even "professed nuns appeared in; as well as with powder in their hair."

In her later years, however, the actress had less glorious attire to flaunt in; once, in Glasgow, because of trouble at the arrival of costumes and effects, she was forced to violate all precedent by enacting Lady Macbeth, not in the customary black velvet, but in the ever-useful, doubtless ever-soiled "white sattin." No Paris gowns for Bellamy in those last sad days!

She has a word to say of the actors in London, also, who "strutted in tarnished laced coats and waistcoats, full-bottom or tye-wigs, and black-worsted stockings"; in such a costume Ryan played Lord Townley. The utter chaos of ideas in regard to dressing is beautifully illustrated by Bellamy's account of the actor Ross's make-up for the Roman Emperor in The Prophetess, about to be revived at Covent Garden. Bellamy advised him to have a wig made "as near a head of hair as it could possibly be. He told me Mr. Rich thought it should be a *full-bottomed* one. I could not help smiling at such an absurdity. But putting on a grave look, I replied, 'Then let it be as large a one as you can get. And to render yourself the more conspicuous,' continued I, 'must not you wear a hoop under your lamberkins?'" The serious air she affected deceived poor Ross, who actually carried out her suggestions. Thus bedizened, as she says, a more grotesque figure never appeared on any stage. "The house was in a roar." But it put an end to the absurd English habit "of dressing the Grecian and Roman heroes in full-bottomed perukes." Yet Bellamy adds that she had seen Le Quin (Lekain) on the French stage "sawing a little hat and feather between his hands, in the character of *Oreste*, when every other part of the dress has been truly Grecian."

As to the wig, one is reminded of Garrick's pleasantry about the "tye" of Macbeth in his burlesque pamphlet, An Essay on Acting: In which will be consider'd the Mimical Behaviour of a Certain fashionable faulty Actor . . . To which will be added, a Short Criticism On His acting Macbeth, 1744. This *jeu d'esprit* is attributed to Garrick as one of those pseudo-attacks on himself, written by himself, to anticipate and ward off serious attempts in the same direction by his enemies. The amusing trifle is worth quoting at length, especially as to the red coats of Macbeth and Banquo and the "Night-Gown he [Macbeth] appears in," which "ought to be a Red Damask, and not the frippery flower'd one of a Foppington." But the bit about the wig is delicious: "I must likewise observe, that in *Shakespear's* Time, the Actors wore their own Hair, and now, from the present Fashion of wearing Wigs, some Speeches are become absurd, such, for Instance, is this of *Macbeth, Never shake thy Goary Locks at me ;* when at the same Time the Ghost is seen in a *Tye Wig :* If I might be allow'd to propose an Alteration (with all imaginable Deference to the Immortal *Shakespear*) in order to avoid this Blunder, I would have the Actor say, *Never shake thy Goary Tye at me;* if the Word *Wig* is thought more Poetical, it will be equally good, as they are both Monosyllables." A little before, the author had meekly left "to the Consideration of the Publick, whether or no a *Tye Wig* is more eligible for a *Major*, or a *plain* Hat, than a lac'd one, for my own Part, I say, *No.*"

This is, of course, admirable fooling, and an excellent parody of contemporary pamphlet carping; but what impresses to-day is the fact that it never occurred to Garrick to question the propriety of wearing some kind of wig—whether "tye" or other.

THE PROTEST OF WILKES

It all seems very funny to us, with archæology miles away. Yet so far back as 1759, Wilkes, in his General View of the Stage, uttered one of the first protests I know against

this sort of thing, a gentle protest, to be sure, but nevertheless indicative of advanced opinion on the subject of theatrical dressing:

> The Romans were so nicely careful in this point, that, as Mr. Kennet informs us, their Actors were always habited according to the fashion of the country where their scene was laid. This was strictly right; but notwithstanding, I don't know whether an attempt to introduce such a practice on our Theatre, would be so well received by our audiences who have been so long habituated to such glaring impropriety and negligence in the opposite extreme.
>
> But this we may however assert, that if a greater attention were bestowed on this subject, and the noted personages were dressed according to nature, and what we learn of them from their histories or pictures yet existing, it would let us much more readily into the truth of the story, and greatly beautify the representation. This should be observed with great attention in all historical plays; but, where the characters are more general, such as Fine Gentlemen, Fops, Beaux, Prudes, &c (these, being the growth of all nations are to be dressed according to our present ideas of those characters, and to the appearances they make in common life).

That little had been done in this respect, however, by 1775, is proved by a letter of November 30th of that year, from the German Lichtenberg, expressing some surprise at the dress of Garrick's Hamlet. I quote from a translation in the Bibliographer of June, 1906:

> I think I wrote you once that Garrick plays Hamlet in French costume. It seems rather remarkable. I have often heard him criticised for it, but still, *never between the acts, or on the way home from the theatre, or at home afterwards during* the supper, but only after the first enthusiasm of first impression had passed, the next morning, in cool discussion.

THE SERVICE OF MACKLIN

Though little had been done when Lichtenberg wrote, nevertheless a start had been made in 1773, when the veteran Macklin enacted Macbeth at Covent Garden, for the first time in his career. This attempt soon brought about one of those chronic riots in the London playhouse that I

have previously spoken of, but on the first night, before the great trouble had arisen, it was apparent that an honest effort had been made to give the tragedy something that was at least meant to be historical in the way of setting and costume. Macbeth and his followers appeared in Scottish dress. In the London Chronicle of October 23–26, 1773, I find an interesting account of the performance. The reader will observe that the critic exercised an archæological sense in his review, and will also note that as usual the lady in the case exercised the woman's privilege of dressing exactly as she pleased.

> The Scenes, Decorations and Dresses, were very striking and magnificent; the cannon on Macbeth's castle, however, were a violation of the *costume* in painting, as firearms were invented many centuries after the coronation of Malcolm.
>
> Lady Macbeth's modern robes by no means accorded with the habits of the other personages, and Mr. Macklin's flowing curls, like the *locks of Adonis*, were unpardonably out of character.

The new decorations continued after Macklin retired. According to the Chronicle of April 12–14, 1774, "Last night Mr. Smith performed Macbeth (at Mrs. Hartley's benefit) for the first time since the alteration in dresses, music, &c., and poor Macklin's defeat in that character at Covent-Garden Theatre."

This was one of the very earliest attempts, in the Eighteenth Century, to give a standard Shakespearian play a suitable and individual mounting. It was followed rapidly by others; as we have seen, Loutherbourg made new scenes for The Tempest in 1777. In the next decade Kemble was specially decking out various Shakespearian revivals at Drury Lane. Garrick retired too early to acquire any glory in this process. His pride, however, was asserted to have been stung to the quick on reflecting that Macklin, not he, had been the first to dress Macbeth in proper habiliments. Possibly as a last throw to fortune, he "new-dressed" King Lear on the very last nights of his ever acting the part at Drury Lane. This surprising fact I dis-

covered in the London Chronicle of May 21–23, 1776. Aside from its statement as to the dressing of the characters, the notice is so interesting that I reproduce it entire:

> Mr. Garrick last night, at Drury-lane Theatre, repeated his capital representation of Lear, and in consequence thereof drew together a most crouded audience, principally composed of the first people of distinction, who seem resolved to let no opportunity escape them of enjoying the remainder of his inimitable performances. He never appeared so great in the character before.
>
> The curse at the close of the first act, his phrenetic appeal to heaven at the end of the second on Regan's ingratitude, were two such enthusiastic scenes of human exertion, that they caused a kind of momentary petrefaction through the house, which he soon dissolved as universally into tears. Even the unfeeling Regan and Goneril, forgetful of their characteristic cruelty, played through the whole of their parts with aching bosoms and streaming eyes. In a word, we never saw before so exquisite a theatrical performance, or one so loudly and universally applauded.
>
> The play received considerable improvement last night from the characters being judiciously habited in old English dresses. Lear's was more majestic than usual, and in our opinion much more in character. The disposition of the scenery was likewise varied on the occasion, so as to produce a pleasing effect, and heighten the general representation of the piece.

CUMBERLAND AND TATE WILKINSON

About this time similar efforts were made in the non-Shakespearian field, thanks, probably, to the attention of De Loutherbourg, who is always said to have reformed the dressing of plays. The Chronicle (October 3–6, 1772) informs us that Jane Shore was performed at Covent Garden Theatre, with "the characters new dressed, after the manner of the times; some of which were elegant and superb." Similarly, the issue for October 29–November 1, 1774, informs us that Mr. and Mrs. Barry had appeared at Covent Garden: "The Grecian Daughter is excellently got up at this theatre, the scenes and dresses being entirely new."

It may be assumed that in the course of a century the two patent houses had accumulated a great mass of costumes fashioned according to the mode of the successive

generations that had formed it. There must be no idea that the dresses, though incongruous, were all of one period; on the contrary, the various styles of a hundred years might mingle in the performance of one play. Richard Cumberland's account of the old-fashioned dress of lumbering Quin, on that memorable occasion in 1746–47 when Quin, Garrick and Mrs. Cibber acted The Fair Penitent at Covent Garden, will sufficiently illustrate the habits of the time or almost of the century. The old actor appeared as Horatio "with a green velvet coat, embroidered down the seams, an enormous full-bottomed periwig, rolled stockings, and high-heeled square-toed shoes," and, as he stood "sawing the air," presented a great contrast to the "nimble" Garrick, who came "bounding in," doubtless in the dress of a younger generation. Tate Wilkinson is even funnier in his description of the same actor, in a performance of The Orphan at Covent Garden in 1747, with Barry, Ryan and Mrs. Cibber making up, with him, the "quartetto":

> What would our modern beaux think of young Chamont, as I have seen Mr. Quin act it at the age of sixty? He was equipped in a long, grisly, half-powdered perriwig, hanging low down on each side the breast and down the back, a heavy scarlet coat and waistcoat trimmed with broad gold lace, black velvet breeches, a black silk neckcloth, black stockings, a pair of square-toed shoes, with an old-fashioned pair of stone buckles;—and the youthful, the fiery Chamont adorned himself with a pair of stiff, high-top'd white gloves, with a broad old scollop'd laced hat, which when taken off the head, and having pressed the old wig, and viewing his fair round belly with fat capen lined, he looked like Sir John Brute in the drunken scene.
>
> Old Ryan was the strong and lusty Polydore, with a red face, and voice truly horrible. . . . Ryan also added bad deportment, and was not near so well dressed as Quin's Chamont, though in much the same extraordinary manner; and by them stood Mr. Barry in Castalio, in a neat bag wig, then of the newest fashion, in his bloom and prime of life; and was certainly one of the handsomest men ever seen on or off the stage, with Mrs. Cibber, all elegance and neatness by his side as Monimia. The sight of the two ancient heroes of antiquity made such a contrast in the Quartetto, that it struck even my features at the age of eleven with risibility. If so, what a whimsical feeling of tragi-comedy must it have diffused on the muscles of the pit-critics, who then decided all disputes, damnations, &c. which at present, to save the audience trouble, the morning papers have taken most of

the grand articles of setting up or knocking down into their own custody.

After this account of Quin, the reader will be less surprised to hear the extraordinary statement of Kirkman in his Life of Macklin that Quin "was accustomed to play Othello in a large powdered major wig, which, with the black face, made such a magpye appearance of his head, as tended more to make the people laugh than cry." Even more amazing is the assertion of John Ireland, in his Letters and Poems of the Late Mr. John Henderson (1786), to the effect that, "of his [Quin's] playing I have not any recollection, but in the scene of the battle, instead of the stump of a tree on which Falstaff sits to rest himself, I remember the then directors of the Theatre introduced a crimson velvet arm chair, with gilt claw feet and blue fringe." In light of such proceedings, we can understand the ludicrous picture of sturdy old Quin as Coriolanus.

We may end the discussion by bringing it around once more directly to Shakespeare, and the ever-useful and informing Dramaticus (Gentleman's Magazine, May, 1789). If the leading character, Richard III, for instance, appeared in something like historically correct costume, the other characters were completely modern; but how often were the leading characters properly attired? Witness Macbeth and Hamlet! To quote from Dramaticus:

King Richard's troops appear in the present uniform of the soldiers in St. James's park, with short jackets and cocked-up hats. King Richard wears indeed the habiliments of his time, but Richmond is dressed à la vraie moderne; whilst the Bishop is stiffened in the reformed lawn sleeves with trencher cap and tassel, instead of the pontifical hat, cloak and cassock. The Lord Mayor . . . . figures in his own character, but the other attendants in the play, not so . . . . .

How is it possible to reconcile Macbeth or Hamlet dressed in our fashionable short coats, with the idea of habits of ages so far anterior?

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